

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

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THE SITUATION IN THE RUSSIAN INTERIOR.

BY ADALBERT ALBRECHT.

"Of glory and honor we have had enough, but when I think how little has been done in the interior of the Empire this thought lays itself heavily on my heart."—*Words of the dying Czar Alexander.*

THE GLORY of war and the power of rulers should simply be the means of strengthening the people of a country materially, intellectually and morally. The Russians as a people are not warlike and despotic, with the exception of the Cossacks. The Russian is naturally so peace-loving that even his inborn hatred of the Turk and Tartar did not induce him to take up weapons against them until the Church made it plain to him that it was his duty to win back his Byzantine brothers to the orthodox Church and to free the Slav races in the Balkans from the "yoke of the unbeliever."

Even the most patriotic Russian cannot affirm that the people wanted war in 1887, and those who know Russia well know that the whole nation disapproves more or less of the present war. It is for Russia the most important event since the freeing of the bondsmen (1861). The construction of many new railways was begun at the same time and these two changes altered the whole political and financial government of the country.

Two Ministers of Finance marked

their names indelibly on this period, *Vyshnegradski* and *Witte*. The former put on the people the thumbscrew of taxation and was merciless in forcing payment from them. He compelled the peasants to sell their crops as soon as possible after the harvest, thus also increasing the export. He procured the right to determine the freight-rates, and by introducing a differential tariff for grain induced the great land-owners to send their corn from the remotest parts of the Empire to the ports. He was just as successful in reducing the imports by raising the duties. The grain export increased. The chronic deficit in the Budget disappeared. The commercial balance rose from sixty millions to three hundred and seven million rubles, till the failure of the crops came in 1891 and the Government's savings had to be encroached upon.

Then *Witte* came. He saw on the one hand the national debt, owing for the most part in foreign countries; on the other the inability of the tax-payer to meet the demands made upon him. Some of the foreign debts still had to be paid in gold, and gold was necessary to pay for the machines and other goods which Russian industries did not produce. At the same time the effect of the tremendous pressure on the grain export began to make

itself felt. Things went so far that the United States sent a shipload of grain for the starving. The poverty of the people, caused by the high rate of taxes, increased. The natural course under these circumstances would have been for the State to take measures to help and increase the productiveness of the country. An agrarian reform should have been undertaken, which was not the affair of the Minister of Finance alone, but of all the departments of the Government. But an agrarian reform requires time, and Witte never had time for anything. He proposed to mend matters by a quick method. The taxes were increased by about seventy millions a year. New loans were obtained.

Witte made himself unlimited lord of the money in circulation. He took not only the Imperial Bank but all private banks under his direction and indirect control. His next step was the introduction of the gold currency. The first condition of a gold currency is that the yearly profits of commerce remain in the country. This fact, however, he left entirely out of consideration, for he "had a firm belief in the development of the productive strength of Russia." Industries were necessary to make the country independent. Until then Russia had remained industrially absolutely undeveloped. These industries were to keep the many millions, which were yearly paid into foreign coffers, at home. They would also afford new material for taxation. For their establishment he required money, money, and still more money. He did not hesitate to negotiate new loans, for France's attempts at political flirtation had opened a rich money market.

Vyshnegradski's government had been mercantile. Witte sought to reach his ends by means of monopolies. Most of the railways were taken over by the State. They turned out to be unprofitable undertakings. The small profit which had its place in the Budget for a short time has disappeared entirely since the opening of

the Siberian-Manchurian line. In 1895 the Government began to make a monopoly of alcohol, and in spite of bad harvests obtained an income in 1902 of 497,400,000 from the sale of spirits alone. It is clear that the profit of the fisc in this case means the physical and moral loss of the people. The profits of the post, telegraph, government forests, mines and lands are favorable. Since Witte's departure the country is theoretically in an almost ideal state of prosperity.

But the fact is becoming more and more widely known, that the export is only kept up by artificial means. Flour is sold in foreign countries in the autumn and in the following spring it is so dear that the peasants cannot buy bread. If the grain export is allowed to decrease the deficit in the Budget makes its appearance. Russia's credit is still good and is supported by Europe's belief in the inexhaustible natural resources of the country and the size of the empire. It was claimed that it required no security, but the Government's experiences lately, when negotiating for loans, would scarcely bear out this statement.

Witte's work was stupendous, but it resembled that of the Danaides rather than that of Hercules. The brilliant state of the finances can no longer hide the fact that the Empire has been disastrously bled. Great and radical changes must take place.

I have mentioned the industries which were stamped out of the ground. Three things are necessary before any industry can flourish: skilled workmen, money, and a strong middle class. All three were, and still are lacking. Not that the need of industries was not felt. On the contrary, the import of industrial products was constantly increasing. After the freeing of the bondsmen the people began to flock into the towns. The nobility brought money, the peasants, labor. But the money was soon squandered or lost in speculation. There were no handicraftsmen settled in the towns, and business was almost entirely in the hands of

foreigners. *The Russian had his place in domestic trade, but only there. All outside trade belonged to the foreigner.*

The peasant who came to the city was and is no able factory-hand. He is accustomed to keeping ninety or more holidays a year, and even in the towns the Church enforces his observance of them. Besides this the Russian peasant is generally a member of the village commune and possesses as such a hut and a strip of land. He has no sooner started working than he wants to go back to the country. He is half farmer and half workman, and therefore neither farmer nor workman. The Government also made the mistake of not developing the small hand-industries which had existed for hundreds of years all over Russia. Instead of enlarging them and making them the foundation of great national industries, the Government made beggars of the people.

The rise of Russian industries will stand no comparison with those of Japan. In both countries we see a completely cut-off people who are suddenly to be brought face to face with European civilization. But Japan was the home of many handicraftsmen and of a large class of artisans. She possessed a well-drilled working-class, a culture of her own and a thrifty population. The Russian workman was less capable of understanding European industries than the Japanese. The Russian capitalist had and has less talent for organization than the Japanese.

It was expected that with money Russia could be made industrially independent over night. Of course there was not enough in the country, consequently foreign loans had to be obtained. The people were intentionally infected with the germs of the founding fever. A great deal of money and work is being expended in establishing the iron industry, which is the cornerstone of the building of all modern industries. It was the first of an endless series of Government enterprises. *But the Government overlooks the fact that the constant increase of industrial production is principally owing to the construction of*

railways, less because the transport of goods is greatly facilitated by the railways than because the materials needed for them are supplied by the industries. The latter have become wholly dependent on railway construction. The Government wants to economize and therefore, after allowing large profits to be made for a time, it cuts down the prices. If a purveyor refuses to accept the price offered him he receives no orders. Many stock-companies easily obtained the concession for the establishment of a factory, but found that not they alone could determine the amount of their net profits and dividends. The fiscal interest outweighs all others. The alcohol monopoly made the distilleries entirely dependent on the fisc, for it was their only customer. Having learned the cost of the raw material, the fisc sets the price of its own purchases. It takes openly into consideration the prosperity of the different provinces. The thrifty, hard-working farmer pays for the laziness of the improvident farmer. As it is easier for the Government to deal with a few large companies than many small ones, the number of the distilleries has been reduced one-third. The distilleries which bought the produce of agriculture are disappearing and the factories are spreading.

The sugar factories and refineries, under the protection of the high tariff, have thriven wonderfully. Russian sugar has completely taken the place of foreign. The fisc and the factories profit, but the tax-payer has to pay for it. The domestic price of sugar is three or four times as high as the foreign price, which hardly covers the cost of production. The consumer in Russia has to pay the difference. This is but one of a hundred examples. The industries are undeniably making headway, but we find the impulse that moves them in the high protective tariff, the immigration of foreign capitalists, engineers and managers, and in the generous support of the government.

Who profits by all this trouble? For whom do the factories work? Even the

maddest Russian optimists cannot hope to bring things in the near future to the point where Russia will export manufactured goods to European countries. Only Asia remains. But the export to Asia remained the same from 1890 to 1903,—that is three and four per cent. of the whole Russian export. The produce therefore is limited at present to the domestic market, which is hardly enticing when we remember that among one-hundred and twenty-six millions of people, in spite of the large export of grain, not ten per cent. live in comfort and that the wealthy prefer foreign produce. Judging by the lack of culture and the financial conditions no near improvement can be hoped for. *Not the Russian people but the Russian fisc opened the market for the tremendous increase in industrial activity,—the fisc, that itself borrowed the money to pay for the goods.*

The Government thought that a satisfactory state of finance was a certain proof of the prosperity of the people—and it was mistaken. In the Russian literature a deeply plaintive note has long sounded and sounds ever louder, of disappointment and embitterment. The aristocrat is just as unfortunate as the peasant. Both were happy in the natural state in which the freeing of the bondsmen surprised them. The few whom this great change did not strike unawares,—cold calculators, petty clerks and tradesmen,—knew how to make use of the chaos. The one preyed upon the peasant, the other upon the nobleman. The impoverished aristocrat became a beggar of situations, a creeper, a tiptoer. Worrying about ways and means made him hard. The lower nobility, which before long was absorbed in the bureaucracy soon became antagonistic to the landed nobility. They, in their turn, were driven to agricultural plunder of the land.

The poetic steppe disappeared under cornfields, but with the steppe the cattle are also disappearing. Cattle stock is increasing in all highly-civilized countries. In Russia alone it had decreased by a third at the beginning of this year. Owing to the lack of manure the soil, which has not

been cultivated for hundreds of years, is rapidly exhausted. Sheep and horse-breeding is declining, the forests are being cut down; the grassy meadows have gone, and with them natural irrigation is going. The climate is changing; the "lean years" are becoming more frequent. The much-talked-of beneficial "Commune constitution" killed any pleasure the people may have had in working. As the Commune as a whole was responsible for the rates and taxes, the land being common property which was divided again and again according to the increase in the population, all individual striving was crippled. The thrifty had to raise the taxes of the lazy. No man might separate himself from the community, as that would have reduced the sum of the taxes. The Commune constitution was at first held up as an example of ideal democratic social equality; but those with insight soon realized that it was nothing less than a blood-letting system of the government. *It was finally changed last year, because nothing more remained to be got out of the people, and the Government wished at least to appear ready to adopt reforms.*

Diseases multiply, the mortality is increasing, particularly infant mortality. Nothing is done to supply doctors, of whom there is great lack. This is the material life of the Russian people.

Their intellectual life is not much better. All the State grammar-schools are left to the Church. The uneducated, intemperate clergy is incapable of educating others. The district-schools are better, but their number is insufficient. About one-half per cent. of the tremendous Budget is devoted to the lower schools, but large amounts are spent on institutions in the foreign provinces, for the education of Bulgarians, Poles, Finns, etc., who generally have better ones of their own. These schools are supported for political reasons. Russian interest is much more deeply involved in outside propaganda than in internal Russian conditions. *We see how politics forces the Russian to go hungry, not only physically, but intellectually.*

The church, which is smothered in dogma, has managed to make the whole religious life of the peasant an outward one, consisting entirely of forms and customs. One of the results is that as soon as he is touched by the true spirit of the Gospel he becomes a dissenter. Dozens of sects increase the number of their followers from year to year. Then the Church interferes as the servant of the State. Wherever there is political propaganda, and the sectarians are considered to be politically dangerous, money runs in streams from above. *Politics forces the Russian to go hungry in religion.*

Later Russian literature shows sufficiently the moral degradation of the people. The position of the women, a criterion of every culture, is low. To the peasant a woman is still a slave; his wife and daughter feel themselves as such. In summer the men leave their homes to seek employment or the women find work in distant provinces. Such conditions have their influence on the family life and bring about a weakening of maternal instincts. The sectarians of course stand morally higher. Many of them have established communities in their banishment, for instance, on the bleak tracts of land beyond the Kaspi, which are the envy of the peasants on the fertile "black soil."

At first sight the Russian peasant would appear to be the descendant of a great, free people, but on consideration of his life and his desires we seem to see the victim of a long serfdom before us—or the son of a people without a future.

Where is the future of the Russian people? There is no strong middle class with its own ideals and spheres of interest. There is only a slavish bureaucracy and that great mass of dissatisfied peasants, starving priests and primitive artisans, out of whose ranks the revolutionists and the Nihilists are recruited.

The High-Schools are put beyond the reach of most young men and women and in this way is fostered that half-education which is the general Russian education and the mother of Nihilism. Young Rus-

sia, with the addition of much Jewish blood, has enthusiasm, endurance and respect for knowledge. Russian men and women students show agility of mind, and iron patience under hardships; but they are inclined to overrate their capabilities and acquirements. Like all Russians, they are apt to generalize and, endowed themselves with quick intellects, are easily dazzled by intellect in others. Their glowing patriotism has only injured them. They did not know the people. They expected to carry the peasant away with their ideas, and were met with blows. They fared better among the ever-growing working-class in the large cities, but supervision is easier there and their propaganda therefore more difficult.

It is easy for those thousands of miles distant to judge these people, but it must be admitted that, whatever their faults, they are absolutely sincere. To be sure, it is the sincerity of fanaticism—but still, sincerity; sincerity which is so seldom found in public life in Russia. Only when we have seen the milieu in which these people grow up can we understand them at all. At times the whole world shudders at their deeds, but when we have seen their surroundings and breathed their atmosphere we can understand even though we cannot excuse them. From their sixteenth year on they live as it were in a prison. From the moment they enter the High-School they are under police supervision. If four seventeen-year-old boys or girls are seen standing together in the street in Moscow, a policeman comes and separates them. A conspiracy is suspected. For the same reason all sport is impossible among the students. They must all wear uniforms, even the women. There are thousands of forbidden books. If the police finds one of them in the home of a student, he is immediately imprisoned without being sentenced, for two, three, or four months, and his parents are left in ignorance of the fact. If they seek information from the police they receive no answer and are often subjected to great annoyance, as for instance the searching

of their houses. I know two Russian medical students, girls, who, on the police finding Nietzsche's *Also Sprach Zarathustra* in their possession, were imprisoned for three months in St. Petersburg. They had formerly acted as nurses for three years in the public hospitals without payment. Every year hundreds of young men lose the right to one year's military service and are obliged to serve for three.

Police drill. Intellectual drill. That is why science has no home in Russia, at least not on national Russian soil. Even to-day science lives there on German, French and English work, and with very few exceptions the Russian scientific literature consists of translations and imitations. Only Russian fiction is original. After having borrowed its philosophy from the West it has become a mirror in which all the wretchedness and longing of the people is reflected clear and intense. There is no Russian art worth mentioning. Wherever we look in European Russia we see the disastrous consequences of the system of government, of the centralization and uniformation, these two mill-stones between which the independence and self-reliance of the people are ground.

The non-Russian highly-civilized border countries are treated in the same way as the home provinces. To prevent the officials becoming interested in any one place they are constantly moved about. They live the lives of nomads, with no interest in nor understanding of the people. How can any man take an interest in his work if he is never allowed to see the results? The Government clerk's activity is nothing but red-tape. His honesty is shaky, he becomes domineering and develops a tendency to let things slide. The Russian Minister of Finance is the brain of the State. He holds all the strings in his hands which direct every movement of the Government clerks. They are nothing but marionettes who dance at the will of an energetic but unimaginative man.

If we turn our gaze from Russia itself to the colonies the whole scene is changed. Where the Russians find a native popula-

tion less civilized than their own they manage to get on very well. In Western Asia they are real colonizers. They have at last brought peace and order into that part of the continent. Commerce is increasing there, Russian immigration is growing. Nevertheless, apart from the gold-mines, the resources of Russian Asia are almost entirely in the hands of foreign capitalists.

But her success in Western Asia by no means justifies Russia's expansive policy. Such a policy may be the result of two forces: One is the expression of a great conqueror's ambition and disappears at his death. The other is the natural consequence of the increasing vigor of a people and is of lasting effect. England's expansive policy began with her protection of her people's expanding forces, and ever since it has followed her merchant-ships and emigrants. Bismarck considered this the normal method. When we remember that Russia built her railways with foreign money, paid and still pays for her conquests out of loans and money which might have been better spent at home, the difference between the course of action of the two countries is thrown into a searching light. England has always obtained and developed her colonies with the interest, so to speak, of her culture-capital, in men as well as money. Whenever she tried to colonize by the might of the sword she failed. Home government is the best school for the English and all other colonists, and should be that of the Russians. But Russia is practicing "Weltpolitik." Not in order to help her people, but in order to practice Weltpolitik and from the Volga to the Dneiper, the good soil at home is being exhausted for want of proper care. Weltpolitik brings quick and certain advantage to only one class—the Government officials, the bureaucracy, whose omnipotence is increased and who make this harmful system of colonization necessary.

In order to develop successfully Russia must depart from her traditions and renounce her desire for outward appear-

ances. She cannot claim a place among the countries in the highest state of modern civilization so long as she dabbles in Weltpolitik as she has hitherto done. But she cannot continue to do so if she gives up her despotic, bureaucratic centralization. On the one hand, it is not possible to equip Russia for competition with Europe with her present system of government; on the other, the people are not yet ripe for constitutional government. It would be dangerous to establish a parliament in Russia with things in their present state. The last fifty years of European history have shown us that the best parliamentarism constantly brings about new disturbances, and the lower the classes who take part in the political life of a country the rougher are its forms and the more difficult the treatment of the questions at issue. I say European history advisedly. The United States has proved a brilliant exception. But even here the emancipation of the negroes has shown what it means to admit uncultivated elements among the representatives of the people. Only some great disaster can force Russia to break with her present course of action. Difficult though it may be to imagine a general revolution in Russia, it cannot be denied that there has never been so much inflammable material awaiting the torch as now. The population of the few large towns is constantly becoming more open in its acceptance of the revolutionary propaganda. The country people are driven on by hunger, and at the outbreak of the war the question was openly asked whether the army could be depended upon. For that reason no regiments out of the interior of Russia were sent to the front till now, when the authorities have had to have recourse to them.

Finance, political economy, self-government,—on these three things depend the fu-

ture. An effort will have to be made to balance the Budget by other means than loans. The army can easily be reduced to half its strength, for European Russia is threatened by no enemy on land and is geographically favorably situated for a defensive policy. The western border countries are to-day the pillars of the Empire, industrially and agriculturally as well as from the point of view of culture. They may become its political support when the Government gives up its war against nationalities and confessions in its endeavor to introduce "Russian culture," and as soon as the western frontier becomes more accessible to western culture. England is the only country which might threaten Russia's economic interests, and Russia's fleet is much too small to protect her in such a case. In China she has none of the harbors that she needs. The interests which a Russian fleet would have to protect are not worth its cost.

All over Russia is the necessity for the cultivation of the individual; for, the larger the country, the more it needs internal variety in order to preserve its external unity and to develop its culture. The people should be politically trained and made conscious of their ability by provincial self-government. Only such measures can prevent great social catastrophes.

And what renders this war so tragic is, that if Russia is victorious no reforms will be effected for many years. The influential classes will point to the victories as a proof that Russia is growing great and mighty without reforms. If she is defeated, I am afraid that she will no longer require them. She will be too weak for that for many, many years—perhaps forever.

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THE REIGN OF GRAFT AND THE REMEDY.

BY HON. ROBERT BAKER,

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FOR THE better part of a year the disclosures of corruption in the Post-Office department were made the occasion for thousands of editorials; Machen, Beavers and other department officials and the contractors who were said to have divided with them, being held up by democratic organs as the inevitable product of Republican rule, while Republican speakers and editors either denied its existence or asserted that the corruption was merely desultory and would be ferreted out and punished. To read the discussions of the matter at the time it engrossed a large share of public attention, one would have assumed that there had been an outbreak of a new disease, which if taken promptly in hand could be thoroughly stamped out. There was much denunciation of graft in the post-office and other departments of the Federal government, but none of graft *per se*. Nothing could have been more essentially superficial or could have more clearly indicated the entire lack of conception of its cause, its persistence, and how it could be prevented, its extent and persistence being ascribed to every cause but the real one.

To understand the genesis of graft one must look deeper than is usually done by those who so learnedly discuss it. Graft is no new disease of the body-politic, nor were the post-office scandals a sudden eruption of an old but dormant one; nor can it be eradicated by superficial measures, nor by holding up certain bureau chiefs and the contractors they dealt with as extraordinarily vicious. This is not saying that they should not be punished, if found guilty; nor that new safeguards, wherever possible, be not devised to prevent the repetition of such occurrences. The community will, however, gain little therefrom, nor will graft be thereby eradicated.

Greater ingenuity is always likely to be shown in the evading of law than in the drafting of it. The larger the prospective gain from its evasion, the more ingenious the methods to circumvent it.

Society should give more thought to the underlying cause of graft than to finding new obstacles to its continuance or new penalties for those who practice it. It may be well to first ask whether its prevalence is generally recognized. To assume that it is confined to the dealings of contractors with department officials is to overlook its larger and more profitable field of operation.

Before citing some of the more flagrant instances it would be well to first ask: What is graft? In the last analysis it is the obtaining of something for nothing—through collusion.

A hint of the extent to which graft has even permeated the commercial world is indicated in the case of a buyer for a large Washington department-store, who, last winter, exhibited to her friends a magnificent array of "presents" received from business-houses from whom she regularly bought goods for her employers. They were all of considerable pecuniary value, while she frankly said that the donors all understood she could buy wherever she pleased. It is immaterial whether the "presents" were bribes or blackmail; either the donors or her employers were "grafted." And yet she would have waxed indignant if anyone had suggested either alternative.

A few years ago we heard much of how the wholesale dry-goods merchants in New York were harried by the police when they occupied the sidewalks with their packing-cases, unless they submitted to "blackmail." It certainly was blackmail for the police to collect this tribute,

but those who were admittedly occupying public property without paying the city for the privilege were the real grafters; they merely divided with the police the value of monopolizing the city's streets.

There is no more reason why cases of boots and shoes, dry-goods, hardware, machinery; why furniture, fruits and vegetables should be allowed for hours to occupy sidewalks to the obstruction of pedestrians, than that he who sells meals should have his restaurant on the sidewalk, or that the barber, doctor or lawyer should have their offices there. The virtuous indignation of these merchants was not due to a high conception of civic duty—against someone obtaining something for nothing, against graft *per se*—but was due to their no longer being permitted to retain all the value of the privileges they were preëmpting.

At the very time when these merchants were crying out against police blackmail, and were giving more or less open countenance to the movement to overthrow the city government, one of the wealthiest dry-goods merchants made strenuous efforts to privately induce the one member of the administration who was standing like adamant in opposition to colossal schemes of public spoliation to withdraw his opposition to a piece of wholesale graft—the abatement of the assessment for the Elm-street widening. Had this high city official yielded to these blandishments this millionaire and his fellow property-owners along that thoroughfare would have “grafted” the city to the extent of some \$2,000,000, probably ten times the amount that the police had obtained from the merchants who monopolized the city's sidewalks during all the years that they had bribed the police for that privilege.

In denouncing “graft” let us maintain some sense of proportion. Let our demand for punishment “fit the crime.” While expressing hostility to the methods shown to have existed in the contracting department of the post-office, and venting our indignation on the petty contractors and bureau chiefs, who have defrauded

the people of some hundreds of thousands of dollars, let us reserve some of our condemnation for those greater criminals who through collusion with higher officials and party chiefs have taken from the treasury millions every year in excessive mail-transportation payments. The graft to the railroads in the thirty-nine millions appropriated for inland railroad mail transportation is many times the total of the pickings of bureau chiefs and petty contractors. Some six millions are also appropriated for rental of mail-cars at a cost equal to the original cost of the car, many being over twenty years old and in the opinion of the railway mail-clerks are a constant menace to their lives.

What is it but graft, when Congressmen and Senators accept (where they do not solicit) passes and telegraph-franks—some not only asking for themselves but constantly applying for them for friends? Their conduct is different only in degree from that of the purchasing-agent of a department who divides with the contractor the increased price charged for his goods—each uses his official position to get something for nothing. The Congressman may try to delude himself with the idea that the railroad-pass or telegraph-frank is given him as a “courtesy,” but we may be sure that the railroad or telegraph company fully realizes its subtle influence even where it is not openly issued as a bribe. It must be remembered that it is not only in affirmative legislation that a legislator can render a great service to railroads and other special-privilege corporations; the *statu quo* is frequently as serviceable to them as legislation openly in their interest. When the ablest Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York (William J. Gaynor) describes favoritism in railroad freight-rates “as the greatest crime of our day and generation,” and says that “more wrong has been done by it than by all the crimes defined by our statutes,” and that “it has crushed and beggared thousands all over the land,” it can be readily seen that the most effective service a legislator can render to these criminal

corporations is to quietly put to sleep what the companies are pleased to call "hostile" legislation; to put off all consideration by the Judiciary Committee; by the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads—always so liberal in its appropriations for railway mail-transportation; by the Committee on the District of Columbia, where the two great railway-systems having depots there were aided out of the joint treasuries of the District and of the United States to an amount variously estimated at from \$4,000,000 to \$7,000,000 during the Fifty-seventh Congress; by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee where bills to extend the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission so that they could enforce their decrees instead of, as now, having them set at naught by the railroads, are quietly slumbering; or by the Public Lands Committee which ought to have something to say, but does not, as to whether the transcontinental roads are living up to their agreements entered into as a part consideration, at least, for the hundreds of millions of acres and scores of millions of dollars in money that they bribed and cajoled former Congresses into granting them; or even by the Labor Committee, which for five months fooled with an eight-hour bill and then referred it to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to report on, on the ground that it had not the time itself to investigate the subject;—hostile legislation in the vocabulary of the railroads being any measure to lessen extortionate tolls; to prevent freight rebates and discriminations; to compel compliance with the decisions of the courts and the Interstate Commerce Commission; to enforce the law for automatic safety appliances; or any other law drawn primarily in the interest of the public or of railroad employees.

A jurist of international reputation—Justice Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court—has recently pointed out another and an extremely insidious form of bribery. In speaking of a law-making lawyer's temptation which has come with the development of these

enormous special-privilege corporations, he says:

"These interests are colossal in size, alluring by the magnitude of their achievements, tempting not merely by the money they possess and with which they can reward, but more by the influence they can exert in favor of the individual lawmaker in the furtherance of his personal advancement.

"No one can be blind to the fact that these mighty corporations are holding out most tempting inducements to lawmakers to regard in their lawmaking those interests rather than the nation.

"There may be no written agreement. There may be in fact no agreement at all, and yet when the lawmaker understands that that power exists which may make for his advancement or otherwise, that it will be exerted according to the pliancy with which he yields to its solicitations, it lifts the corporation into a position of constant danger to republican institutions."

For years the business interests of New York have beseeched Congress to make more adequate provision for its constantly increasing postal business, but no appropriation for a building was made. I learned during the recent session that the money could have been had at almost any session during the past ten years only for the opposition of the New York Central railroad. So general was this view that no attempt to gloss over the real cause was made even when correspondents of New York papers were present at informal gatherings endeavoring to secure an appropriation—although it was tacitly understood that they would not be so discreet as to put the blame for the delay where it belonged. The New York Central, having direct representation in the Senate, could block any proposition not in conformity with what it was pleased to consider its interest. Having finally come to terms with its great rival, the Pennsylvania, and those two corporations having agreed between themselves as to what they would permit to be done in the matter, it goes without

saying that every difficulty was removed, every obstacle overcome; cabinet officers quickly approved, and the appropriations were duly made. The New York merchants who cried in vain so long for improved postal facilities will no doubt refrain from applying the term "hold-up" to the whole proceeding. We in the East have too great a reverence for great wealth to do anything more than complain, being equally careful with the correspondents not to say anything rude of those who have for so long prevented action, even if the result is to buttress private ownership of interstate highways by tying up the Post-Office Department to the New York Central with a fifty-year lease. The records will, I think, be searched in vain during all this period for evidence that even one member has openly charged any railroad with being the real obstructionist. Of course no one would suggest that failure to do this was in any way related to the question of railroad-passes.

Another piece of graft is the excess fare which this road exacts from all who purchase tickets from New York to Albany, or *vice versa*. Although limited by law to a two-cent rate, passengers are charged \$3.10, the distance being one hundred and forty-six miles. The only excuse I have ever heard for this extra fare is that the company has to pay the difference to another company which owns the railroad bridge at Albany. This is bad enough, but when one learns that the bridge is the private property of the Vanderbilt family and their immediate friends, one sees that not only is the public milked, but the graft does not even go to the stockholders of the road that most of the passengers think they pay it to, but to that little inner circle of men who control the railroad company, and who were shrewd enough to hit upon so simple a scheme for deflecting a considerable revenue into their pockets. Like the operation of tariff taxes, nearly all who pay this little honorarium to one of the "great" families of America have no conception that they have been taxed at all.

What is it but graft when a United States Senator, the head of an express company, not only uses his position to protect his own and allied companies from legislative "attacks," insuring them in the continuation of their extremely valuable privileges, but secures to the railroads from whom these valuable privileges are derived extortionate prices for transporting the mails?

What was it but graft when Huntington, Hopkins, Stanford and Crocker organized a construction company to build the Pacific railroads, paying themselves out of the treasury of the railroads enormous sums for work at inflated prices, under which they got possession of most of its bonds and stocks?

What was it but graft when big financiers forced the United States Government to accept in full settlement but a part of the large debt the Union Pacific owed?

What is it but graft when the controlling forces of a railroad system organize an express or dispatch company to which valuable privileges are granted on far lower terms than it could, or would, obtain if the grantee company were not in effect themselves?

What is it but graft when the directors of a railroad company organize an industrial company, locate it along the line of their road, then accord it lower freight rates than are charged to competitors in the same business?

What is it but graft when the directors of a railroad have special cars placed at their disposal whenever they desire them for social or business purposes?

What is it but graft when the President of the United States accepts the "courtesy" of special railroad trains, or cars, for vote-hunting trips or for social visits?

What was it but graft when old and almost useless ships were foisted on the Navy department at the outbreak of the Spanish war?

What is it but graft when the anthracite coal-roads form a pool, not only to limit production but to fix the price of transportation at from three to four times

what would earn a reasonable dividend on the actual capital invested? Occasionally these highway robbers fall out among themselves as to a division of the booty; and we find the general coal sales-agent of the Philadelphia and Reading (the Goliath of the coal-trust) testifying under oath before the Interstate Commerce Commission as to what happened if the Reading cut its regular price, "that they denied it if they did,"—not even, it seems, maintaining that honor which is supposed to exist among thieves—i. e., thieves without the pale of the law.

What is it but graft when the Big Four who compose the beef-trust get special freight-rates which enable them to drive competitors out of business?

What is it but graft when heads of departments, chiefs and deputy-chiefs of bureaux in Washington use public carriages for pleasure and to maintain their social "prestige"?

What was it but graft when those who purchased United States bonds during the Civil war in depreciated currency years later "induced" Congress to make them redeemable in gold?

What was it but graft when the employer of a recent law-partner of a President entered into a secret deal with the head of the government to issue bonds to his syndicate at from eight to twelve per cent. less than they were worth?

What is it but graft when this same leader in *haute finance* organizes the United States Steel Corporation and invites a confiding public to purchase "securities," three-quarters, if not four-fifths of which represent nothing but water? How many thousands of ignorant but innocent investors, relying upon the "high character," "deserved reputation," "commanding influence," "great ability," "financial stability" and "unblemished business honor" of these men have been ruined by having these securities foisted upon them? All the graft of the Machens and Beavers who have been in government employ for a score of years, including even the "star-route" frauds, looks puny and

insignificant beside the colossal sums squeezed out of the people through the floating and manipulation of Steel-Corporation stock, to say nothing of the scores of millions wrung from the people in inflated prices charged for its products because it was "protected" by a tariff of from \$7.84 a ton and upwards on its manufactures.

What was it but graft when the Western Union Telegraph Company supplied pool-rooms with racing news in defiance of law, charging some five million dollars for the service which perhaps costs them a tenth of that sum? When burglars are caught with the goods on them they are not permitted to go their way because they insist that hereafter they will be law-abiding. But then among that profession there are no multi-millionaire "philanthropists."

What is it but graft when the special-privilege corporations of New York City—this same Western Union, the telephone, the gas and electric, the surface and elevated railroad companies—refuse to pay even the totally inadequate and ridiculously low rate of taxation levied against them, so that according to a recent issue of the *New York World* they owe the city some nineteen millions of dollars for arrears of taxes?

I was recently told of an incident that occurred in the home city of THE ARENA. A Boston firm, a regular shipper to the extent of several hundred packages a week by the Adams Express Company, had been paying forty cents a package. A friend in another business happening to drop in and seeing a pile of packages ready for shipment asked: "How much apiece do you pay on them?" On being told, he said: "What? I do n't know anything about your business, but I'll take a contract right now to ship them for you by the same company for thirty-five cents." To test the matter, his name was pasted over that of the actual shipper and he proceeded to the express office, asking for a quotation for several hundred packages a week. On their quoting a rate of twenty-eight cents he said: "I guess I'll

send them by mail. The only reason I wanted to ship them by your company was to get an individual receipt for each package." He was then offered a twenty-three-percent rate. It is needless to say that the real shippers were astounded when the rate at which the company were prepared to carry their packages was reported to them. But in view of the tremendous difference in the charges for sending packages by "parcels-post" abroad—which rates are frequently less than one-half what Americans have to pay for the privilege of having a government function exploited for private benefit—it is not surprising that the express "ring" is able to shunt all investigation of the subject and to kill off all bills for an American parcels-post. The railroads and express companies have too many direct and indirect representatives in the House and the Senate to permit any legislation of that nature even being considered in committee, let alone reported to and acted upon on the floor of Congress; the "graft" is too big.

What is it but graft when the school-book-trust is able to force its books into the schools and keep other books out?

There is another method of getting something for nothing—graft—which is even more generally practiced than any of the foregoing, which is more insidious, because one does not have to seek legislative privileges before engaging in it. I refer to the successful guessing as to the trend of population; where and when great public improvements are to be made; where a railroad—interstate or urban—is to run, etc. Of course the successful guessers are mostly those who have secured advanced information that these projects are to be carried on. Many a fortune has been acquired in this way, and the richest politician is not necessarily he who has held the most lucrative office for the longest period. He may never have held any office, but if he can secure positive information in advance of others where public improvements are to be carried out; above all, if he can himself direct and control the officials who have to do with their

location, he can amass a fortune in a few years. All he has to do is to get hold, either in his own or his wife's name, but better still in the name of a dummy, of a large section of the land to be taken for the public improvement, or that which will surely be enhanced in value thereby, and he will become rich not only by reason of the natural increase of value which always attaches to land when these improvements are assured, but by reason of the fact that the communities, always pay more for property than the owners could obtain elsewhere. If in addition the real owner controls the commission which awards the damages, or fixes the price to be paid, then a far larger price is obtained and the "graft" is so much larger.

This practice, which has been found so fruitful for politicians in our great cities, has also been followed by some of those who control the great transportation systems. As a case in point might be cited the action of the controlling forces that, when the Northern Pacific Railroad was pushing its way to the ocean, gave out that they intended to locate their terminus at (I think it was) Tacoma. The result was, as they well knew it would be, that every land speculator in that section of the country and probably many from the East, rushed there and forced up the price of the land in that vicinity. While this was going on agents of the men who knew what point was really selected quietly bought up every foot of land obtainable at Seattle (as I am informed); of course obtaining it at a comparatively low figure in the face of the announcement that the terminus was to be located elsewhere. They then announced that they had changed their minds and Seattle would be made the terminus, with the result that fortunes were made out of the rise in land values which inevitably followed the completion of the road to that point. As a practical matter it would have made no difference whether the false announcement was made or not (even if it were not so made), it would only have affected the result in degree. Fortunes, although per-

haps not so large, would have still been made through the increase in land values consequent on the building of the road.

Now as to the remedy, if remedy there be, to this apparently all-pervading graft. First let us have an end to the idea that he who corrupts the public officials (directly or indirectly) and thus secures a valuable special privilege, thereby obtaining millions, has "made" his money by business acumen, enterprise and foresight, while the few hundreds secured by petty swindlers through collusion with corrupt contractors have secured theirs by "graft." Whoever obtains something for nothing, whether it takes the form of "water" in an interstate railroad or a trolley line, in a telegraph or telephone company, in an electric-light or gas company; whether it is an unloading of the "securities" of a steel-trust, the milking of the public through a tariff on sugar, woollens, steel, salt or borax; whether it is in the form of a Standard Oil monopoly, or a monopoly of copper; whether it takes the form of forestalling population (either with or without advance information of what is projected), and thereby reaping an enormous harvest in "unearned increment,"—all are "grafting" upon the body-politic.

The form of graft which has been most destructive of public morality, is unquestionably that of the public-service corporations. There is not a clean page in their whole history; it has been one of long-continued, persistent bribery, not only in connection with the "fine work" which has been almost uniformly practiced in inducing legislative bodies to grant the original franchises; the periodic bribery of subsequent legislatures through which extensions and modifications have been obtained; but equally persistently of the officials who are charged with the duty of enforcing the laws applicable to these corporations and of seeing to it that the terms of their charters are complied with.

Even the military dictator at Cripple Creek—General Sherman Bell—in an interview with Henry George, Jr., speaking of the dishonest elections in Denver, said:

"The water, electric-light, telephone and tram corporations rule that city. They control the police force and sheriff's office, and they stop at nothing to debauch the ballot, stuff the boxes with fraudulent votes and count out qualified voters.

"Some of their franchises are about to expire. They want new ones. They believed they could get them on terms satisfactory to themselves only from men they themselves should elect to office. All newspapers and most all respectable people opposed their candidates. But they were successful. I am prepared to say *that these corporations had fourteen thousand fraudulent votes cast and counted*, and that they spent \$190,000 on election.

"But this money they regarded as a good financial investment in return for franchise privileges they expect to receive."

In view of his use of the military to shut down the Portland Mine solely because union men were employed there and his wholesale deporting of men simply because they were members of organized labor, his further statement as to the Denver election is illuminating as to who controlled Governor Peabody. Bell said: "I wanted to use militia against these thugs and repeaters and bad men, these corporations paid for bringing into the city, *but I was prevented from doing so*, and corruptionists had full swing."

So successful have the special-privilege corporations—interstate railways, urban and interurban railways, gas, water, electric-light, telephone and telegraph companies—been in their evasion of the terms of their charters and of the laws governing their operation, and of those levying taxes thereon, that it has become the common expression: "You do n't suppose 'they' obey the laws, do you?"

It is notorious that they habitually ignore, nullify and trample upon the laws affecting them, but at the first sign of discontent displayed by their employees at the onerous conditions under which they are compelled to work—frequently in

open violation of law, such as the laws limiting the number of hours that street-railway employees shall work during a day—these nullifiers of law are loud and insistent in their demand that "law" and order be maintained no matter who is hurt. Law and order should be maintained at all times, but it should be enforced against a street-railway corporation which does not pay its taxes, which violates the law regulating hours of employment, just as much and just as rigorously as against those who smash car-windows or cut trolley-wires. In fact, it is largely because the laws regulating these corporations are persistently nullified that strikers or those who sympathize with them are guilty of the more spectacular infractions of law.

But it is not alone in the securing of these frequently enormously-valuable franchises by the bribery of the people's representatives and the subsequent bribery of executive officials that these special-privileged corporations do evil; the public are of course robbed both in the extortionate charges for these services and in the refusal of the companies to pay their share of taxation, but they are also injuriously affected in another way. A considerable part of the gigantic fortunes which those who control these corporations have acquired has been squeezed out of the investing public by what is nothing more or less than "thimblerrigging" of the stock-market. Whenever it suits the purpose of these gentlemen, statements get abroad and are given marked consideration by the newspapers in which they are interested or can influence, hinting at the wonderful developments at hand and prospective increase of dividends. Result, the stock goes up. When they have unloaded, it suddenly appears (from the same sources) that owing to unusual expenses or from some other cause, the company is not doing as well as formerly. Result, the price is forced down, the innocent who bought at high prices are squeezed out, and the process is gone over again, of course with variations, as those who control

and manipulate the stock are exceedingly resourceful and are past-masters in the art of devising new schemes to catch Wall-street lambs. To vary the monotony of the procedure mergers are from time to time put through and the presses put at work printing new "securities," which not only afford the insiders the opportunity for commissions for underwriting, but greatly increased amounts of stock are then issued in exchange for others which are retired, the public being called upon to pay dividends upon an increased capitalization which is made the basis of the contention that there can be no reduction of fares if the "widows and orphans" are not to be deprived of dividends.

The same process is gone through with in the case of the gas and electric-light companies, the result being that despite the known economies in production which are being made from time to time, the public is constantly confronted with the fact that they are all the time called upon to pay dividends upon larger and larger capitalizations, the large capitalization being seriously advanced by the attorneys of these monopolies at legislative hearings as a reason why no legislative reductions in price should be made. To say that by these and allied methods a score of men in New York City have made (?) fortunes aggregating even more than the total capitalization of the public-service corporations which they control, is probably rather to underestimate than overstate the fabulous sums they have milked from the public, but indicates the extent of their "graft."

Even if all the evils which the agents of these men are constantly predicting as sure to follow "municipal-ownership" were really to result, public morality would be immensely improved by the elimination of these wholesale bribers from our legislative halls; while the vast sums now paid for protection from "hostile" legislation and as the price of law-evasion would no longer find their way into party campaign-chests—or to private individuals—to corrupt our elections and

our legislatures. Until this is done, until public-ownership and operation are substituted for private exploitation and manipulation of public functions, we may expect these conditions to continue. The prizes are so enormous, the "graft" is on such a colossal scale that the ablest, shrewdest and most unscrupulous minds in the country inevitably make it their sphere of operation and do not hesitate at wholesale debauchery and corruption of the suffrage to secure the fortunes thus obtainable.

With the adoption of municipal-ownership of public utilities in our cities and governmental ownership of railroads, telegraphs and telephones in the nation; with the obliteration of the tariff-wall which greed and avarice have erected between us and the people of other nations, we shall have removed from our legislative bodies and from politics generally the most prolific sources of graft. There will then remain only that other potent but personally less corrupting form—private absorption of "unearned increment."

While in the aggregate—for it extends all over the country—even larger sums are wrung from the people by the private appropriation of ground-rent than are obtained in the ways I have herein set forth, yet its demoralizing influence upon public and private morals is not so great. All recognize when money is paid to an alderman, an assemblyman or a congressman as the price of his voting the briber a special privilege, that not only is the act corrupt, but that the legislator is thereafter incapable of doing his duty to the people in other legislative matters, his perspective is ever after clouded and his conception of right and wrong perverted. But where there is no act of personal corruption, and the individual simply takes advantage of opportunities that are apparently free to all to get wealthy without labor; when he shows "shrewdness" and "foresight" in anticipating the trend of population, where public improvements are to be made; or when he merely sits

down and holds land for a rise, he is not lowering the tone of public morals or contributing to the debauchery of the suffrage. But nevertheless his appropriation of ground-rent, equally with the more corrupting and demoralizing act of the exploiter of public-service privileges, is the cause of graft in the public service.

While the people are directly robbed in excess fares for street-car service and in extortionate charges for water, gas or electricity, and through the evasion of taxation by the companies operating these public functions, they are also indirectly robbed by him who appropriates ground-rent; for those values which the community produces, and which should be collected for the benefit of the community, going as they now do almost entirely into private pockets, result in the institution of various forms of taxation upon industry and thrift and upon consumption which would be entirely unnecessary were the annual rental value of land taken in taxation, instead of being left to private individuals to collect for their own private use.

But more: it is not alone in the amount of wealth thus wrongfully taken from those who produce it, that evil is done. An evil equally as great of another kind results. Because land-values are not taxed into the public treasury it becomes profitable to hold land out of use; land speculation—the locking-up of land—is encouraged. As a consequence less land is used for farming, for homes and stores; for the production of coal, iron, copper, zinc, lead, salt, borax, clay and oil; for power in the form of water-falls; for wharves and docks and for manufacturing purposes generally, than there is need for. As a result all forms of wealth production are restricted, while the prices of such things as can readily be monopolized are enhanced to the final consumer. The high prices resulting in a restricted demand, many are unable to find employment even in so-called "good times." They are therefore compelled, in order to live at all, to offer their services at a lower rate than those who are employed, wages

thus always tending to the minimum of subsistence. With increase of population and increased demand for land, the value of land becomes greater and those who monopolize it are able to exact, either in the original purchase price or in annual ground-rent, an ever-increasing proportion of the total wealth produced.

The cause of graft in the public-service—as in business, or private life—is primarily due to the inability of many to secure in competition with their fellows that reward for their labor that is justly due them. To some extent the artificial conditions that are caused by the private appropriation of ground-rent and by the private exploitation of public functions, with its attendant accumulation of large fortunes ostentatiously displayed, may have a reflex influence in inciting graft; for it is but natural that these wasteful expenditures should excite emulation even if on a smaller scale. Again, in our state capitals, and particularly in the capital of the nation, the means which have been employed to secure valuable franchises are so well known to politicians, it is not surprising that among lesser public officials there should grow up a feeling that graft is justifiable under the present régime. If party chiefs can collect enormous campaign-funds from the railroads and other special-privilege corporations for favorable

legislation and for defeating “hostile” measures, and from the trusts for tariff favors, why should not minor officials feather their nests by dividing with contractors?

If we would abolish graft we must strike at the root of the evil, which is to be found in the private appropriation of ground-rent coupled with its more corrupting twin, private exploitation of public functions. When we have abolished these fundamental causes we shall have destroyed the incentive to graft, and we shall have restored that healthy tone now so sadly lacking in public affairs. It will not be necessary for men to seek government positions—or starve. The opportunities for profitable employment will be unlimited, and because men—all men—will then be able to obtain for their services the full value of the wealth they create (monopoly no longer being able to exact the lion’s share, giving nothing in return), there will be no need for them to sell their souls to some politician for a mess of pottage; while those who seek political service, finding the atmosphere in which they move clarified by the elimination of the present corrupting influences, will not be incited to make their positions a mere channel for “graft.”

ROBERT BAKER.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

CRISES IN JAPANESE HISTORY.

BY PROFESSOR EDWIN MAXEY, M.DIP., LL.D.

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THE UNIQUE position which Japan occupies at the present time by reason of being the only nation which possessed the moral courage to use force in preventing Russia from continuing her stealthy, plundering policy in the Far East, awakens our admiration and increases our interest in the little Island Empire. To Americans this interest is due

largely to the fact that Japan is using force to maintain in the Far East what the United States is insisting upon diplomatically, and largely also to the fact that Japan’s position among the nations of the world is due to the well-directed efforts of the United States in her behalf.

There is perhaps no one fact in Japanese history which stands out in bolder re-

lief than does the opening of that country to the commerce and thought of the rest of the world, by Commodore Perry. And while this fact is known to all of us in its general outline its importance entitles it to a close study. Hence no apology is necessary for calling the reader's attention to the means used as well as to the end attained by this unusual and apparently hostile but really friendly expedition.

Up to the middle of the last century Japan played no part in the political or commercial affairs of the Western World. She neither had, nor indeed would she permit any of their diplomatic representatives at her capital or consuls at her ports. During the early half of the century Great Britain, Russia and France had endeavored to break the seal, but without avail. It is true that the Dutch had gained some trading rights at Nagasaki, but these were so limited that they might have been carried on for centuries without giving to Japan a place among the nations of the world. The laws which excluded foreigners and at the same time forbade the Japanese to leave the Kingdom, under penalty of death, were still in force and the sentiment upon which these laws rested was still unbroken. To accomplish this end, tact and firmness, or else a resort to brute force, were necessary. The latter method had just been applied to China, and would no doubt have been extended to Japan had not the former method in the hands of the United States succeeded.

There were special reasons at that time why the United States should be anxious for Japan to relax her policy of exclusion. The seas about Japan swarmed with American whalers, and to these a resort to Japanese harbors in stress of weather or shipwrecks was a matter of extreme necessity; also the discovery of gold in California made it clear that the commerce of the Pacific was no longer a matter of indifference to the United States. It was evident to the statesmen of that time, particularly Mr. Webster, who was then Secretary of State, that the friendship and the com-

merce of Japan were well worth the seeking.

The matter was one of extreme delicacy. A false step might readily sacrifice the prize and even bring us into unpleasant complications with other powers. A wise caution was therefore necessary to securing the best results. While tact is never amiss in diplomacy, it is especially desirable in dealing with a nation predisposed toward exclusiveness. It will be remembered that the expedition under Commodore Biddle a few years before this had failed and another failure would prove a serious blow to our prestige.

For the important work on hand, Commodore Perry, a man of great tact, patience and firmness was chosen; there was placed at his disposal a set of charts which we had bought from the Dutch for \$30,000, a great variety of presents for the Emperor, and a fair-sized naval squadron. The letter of President Fillmore to the Emperor of Japan is such a quaint and interesting document that we quote it in full:

"November 13, 1852.

"Millard Fillmore, President of the United States of America, to His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan.

"GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND:

"I send you this public letter by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, an officer of the highest rank in the navy of the United States and Commander of the squadron now visiting your Imperial Majesty's dominions.

"I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your Imperial Majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings toward your Majesty's person and Government; and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan but to propose to your Imperial Majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and have commercial intercourse with each other.

"The Constitution and Laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the

tranquility of your Imperial Majesty's dominions.

"The United States of America reach from ocean to ocean and our territory of Oregon and the State of California lie directly opposite the domain of your Imperial Majesty. Our steamships can go from California to Japan in eighteen days.

"Our great State of California produces about sixty millions of dollars in gold every year, besides silver, quick-silver, precious stones and many other valuable articles. Japan is also a rich and fertile country and produces many very valuable articles. Your Imperial Majesty's subjects are skilled in many of the arts. I am desirous that our two countries should trade with each other for the benefit of both Japan and the United States. We know that the ancient laws of your Imperial Majesty's Government do not allow of foreign trade except with the Chinese and the Dutch. But as the state of the world changes and new governments are formed, it seems to be wise from time to time to make new laws. There was a time when the ancient laws of your Imperial Majesty's Government were first made. About the same time America, which is sometimes called the New World, was first discovered and settled by the Europeans. For a long time there were but few people and they were poor. They have now become quite numerous; their commerce is very extensive; and they think that if your Imperial Majesty were so far to change the ancient laws as to allow a free trade between the two countries it would be extremely beneficial to both.

"If your Imperial Majesty is not satisfied that it would be safe altogether to abrogate the ancient laws which forbid foreign trade, they might be suspended for five or ten years so as to try the experiment. If it does not prove beneficial as was hoped, the ancient laws can be restored. The United States often limit their treaties with foreign States to a few years, and then renew them or not as they please.

"Commodore Perry is also directed by me to represent to your Imperial Majesty that we understand there is a great abundance of coal and provisions in the Empire of Japan. Our steamships in crossing the great ocean burn a great deal of coal, and it is not convenient to bring it all the way from America. We wish that our steamships and other vessels should be allowed to stop in Japan and supply themselves with coal, provisions and water. They will pay for them in money or anything else your Imperial Majesty may prefer; and we request your Imperial Majesty to appoint a convenient port in the southern part of the Empire where our vessels may stop for this purpose. We are very desirous of this.

"These are the only objects for which I have sent Commodore Perry with a powerful squadron to pay a visit to your Imperial Majesty's renowned city of Yeddo: a supply of coal and provisions and protection for our shipwrecked people. We have directed Commodore Perry to beg your Imperial Majesty's acceptance of a few presents. They are of no great importance in themselves, but some of them may serve as specimens of the articles manufactured in the United States, and they are intended as tokens of our sincere and respectful friendship.

"May the Almighty have your Imperial Majesty in His great and holy keeping.

"Your good friend,

"MILLARD FILLMORE.

"By the President:

"EDWARD EVERETT,

"Secretary of State."

The official instructions of Commodore Perry were prepared by Webster but unfortunately he did not live to see the successful outcome of the expedition; indeed, he did not live even to sign them. They bear the signature of acting Secretary Conrad. The instructions very wisely left the selection of means to the discretion of the Commodore. They set forth briefly the objects of the expedition as being:

(1) The securing of a promise of protection

for our shipwrecked sailors; (2) the privilege of refitting and recoaling our vessels in certain of their ports; and (3) the opening of ports to trade.

Fully appreciating the delicate character of the task assigned him, Commodore Perry sailed from Norfolk, November 24, 1852. On the eighth of the following July his squadron, with all sails furled and decks cleared for action, steamed 'neath the shadows of the snow-capped Fujiyama into the beautiful Bay of Yeddo. The new and graceful flagship "Susquehanna" was the first ship that had ever steamed into these secluded waters. It paid no attention to the signals given it to stop but steamed straight ahead until it was opposite Uraga. After the steamship had dropped anchor, the Vice-Governor of Uraga came alongside in a boat and inquired for the commander. But as Perry had determined to treat with none but officers of rank, he caused the Vice-Governor to be received by his aide. The purpose of the Vice-Governor's visit was to inform the Commodore that business with foreigners could be transacted only at Nagasaki and that therefore his ships must withdraw to that place. The reply of the Commodore to this message was firm but courteous. He stated the plain fact that he had come with his squadron on a friendly mission to Japan; that he carried a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan; that he wished an interview with an official of highest rank in order to arrange for the delivery of the letter; that he expected the letter to be received here, at the capital, and that he would not go to Nagasaki. He further assured the governor that he would suffer no indignity to be shown to his ships, and that if the guard-boats were not dispersed he would proceed to disperse them by force. The official did not await the use of force but signaled the guard-boats to disperse, and no further trouble was had with them during the visit.

The next day the Governor of Uraga came on board; yet he also was refused an audience by the Commodore in person,

but was received by two commanders designated for the purpose. The Commodore had not crossed the ocean for the purpose of treating with provincial governors. The Governor repeated the invitation to quit the bay of Yeddo and proceed to Nagasaki, and the invitation was again courteously but emphatically declined, and the Governor was told plainly that if a suitable official were not appointed by the Japanese Government to receive the letter addressed to the Emperor, the Commodore himself would feel compelled to go on shore with sufficient force to deliver it in person. The Governor then promised to convey the request to the capital and that within four days a response might be expected from the Court of Yeddo.

Being convinced that American diplomacy meant what it said, the Court accredited Plenipotentiaries to meet the Commodore. A building was erected especially for the purpose of the meeting and a stately reception arranged. The letters and credentials were received by two Japanese Princes designated by the Emperor. The meeting was characterized by courtesy, formality and brevity. After the exchange of credentials and reception of the letter, the Commodore informed the Japanese that in view of the great importance of the business, time should be given for deliberation; that therefore he would depart now and return the following Spring. Upon being asked whether or not he would return with "all of his vessels," he replied, "all of them and probably more, as these are only a portion of the squadron."

The Americans could depart with the feeling of satisfaction that they had accomplished something. They had at least secured a hearing. They had been received upon a basis of equality—a privilege which had not been accorded to foreigners for over two centuries. Having made known the wishes of their country to the Emperor in a dignified way, they withdrew their squadron so that the consideration of their request would not need to proceed in the presence of an apparently

hostile force, which would have been unnecessarily humiliating to a brave and proud-spirited people. The seed had been sown and could safely be left to germinate and fructify, taking care of course that the harvest should not be gathered by another to our exclusion.

Notwithstanding the desire of our Minister to China that the squadron remain in Chinese waters because of the Taiping rebellion, the Commodore returned early in the following Spring with the full squadron of ten warships—double the number of his former squadron and by far the most formidable fleet which had ever been seen in the Bay of Yeddo. He advanced to a point twelve miles nearer the capital than the previous landing-place; and again a building was erected especially for his reception. It was on the site of the great port of Yokohama. The credentials of the plenipotentiary were satisfactory and the negotiations began on March 8th. The commission representing the Japanese consisted of the plenipotentiary and four other princes and persons of high rank. It was evident to the Commodore that the feeling of the Japanese was far more cordial than on the occasion of his former visit. Their increased confidence and good-will toward us was evidenced by the fact that their military guard consisted of a very small number. Mutual good-feeling and courtesy characterized the negotiations throughout. Though the Japanese representatives were new hands at diplomacy they acquitted themselves with great credit.

The agreement which was finally entered into agreed in the main with the requests made by the United States. It guaranteed protection to shipwrecked sailors; opened two ports, in addition to Nagasaki, in which ports, though we were not given the privilege of unrestricted trade, our vessels might obtain supplies, purchase goods and establish depots for coal; we were guaranteed the privilege of having consuls or commercial agents at Shimoda, which was the open port nearest the Japanese capital; and, lastly, a clause secur-

ing to Americans "most favored nation" treatment; so that, whenever during the life of the treaty privileges were granted to any other nations, said concessions would inure to our benefit as well.

Thus was a much-needed and difficult piece of work performed at very little cost. The timeliness of the move and the hardy good sense displayed in carrying it out is a tribute to the far-sighted statesmanship of those having it in charge. Though Japan at that time was not in a position to offer effective resistance and had made up her mind to take the best terms she could get, we exacted no harsh or humiliating conditions, but simply such as were in keeping with her highest welfare. As proof of this we would submit the fact that she has never shown a disposition to curtail privileges granted us in the treaty of 1854, but upon the other hand, has, from time to time, added to them.

In the method resorted to for the purpose of forcing upon Japan a recognition of the fact that by the applications of steam and electricity to the needs of human intercourse national exclusiveness had become an impossibility, we departed from the beaten paths of diplomacy and trusted to the judgment of history for a justification of our departure. That the justification has been ample we need no better, neither is there a more willing witness than Japan herself. Her friendship for us as well as her admiration has increased steadily during the half-century which has elapsed since our treaty relations began. Until now no peoples or institutions save their own are held in higher esteem by the Japanese than are those of the United States. The celebration by the Japanese nation last year in honor of Commodore Perry and the expressions of good-will by them in the unveiling of his statue was a spontaneous and unmistakable tribute of respect to him and the country which he represented and was convincing evidence of the real value of the service rendered them.

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THE SCHOOL AND CERTAIN SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND TENDENCIES OF TO-DAY.

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THE place of the school among the various forces and agencies which make for individual and social righteousness, has of late been exciting renewed interest and discussion. Nor is this surprising, for the moral problem, which never ceases to confront society, has never been so insistent nor so difficult and perplexing as to-day. It is, therefore, incumbent upon every agency which is in any way responsible for the moral elevation of the community to observe closely the social conditions and tendencies of the times and to study how it may most efficiently fulfill its ethical function. The purpose of this article is to consider this function of the school in its application to certain of the most significant of these conditions and tendencies.

In discharging its ethical function the school has no duty more urgent and imperative than to cultivate a profound respect for law and lawful authority—the law-abiding spirit. Obedience to law and government is the fundamental element of good citizenship; and a country like ours, where authority has its source in the will of the people, should above all others be characterized by a universal respect for law and for the orderly operation of government. While it is no doubt true as a general statement that our people are for the most part law-abiding, yet there is a vast amount of lawlessness among us, in fact more than in any civilized country of Europe, with perhaps the single exception of Russia. This disregard of law shows itself in various ways.

During the last twenty years there have been about three thousand lynchings within our borders, some of them enacted with a cruelty and savagery seldom paralleled even among barbaric tribes. Law and

government have been thrown to the winds, while hundreds and even thousands have looked on with evident approval. With a very few noteworthy exceptions—notable because of their exceeding rarity—the officers of government from the highest to the lowest have themselves been lawless in failing to perform their sworn duty to maintain the majesty of the law by preventing such excesses or bringing to justice those who participate in them. Legislatures have been lawless in failing to enact laws with adequate penalties, to restrain or repress such outbreaks of mob violence. Substantially entire communities have tamely acquiesced in such acts, or have openly approved them; and even men of the highest intelligence and of presumable probity have excused, and some have even defended them, and so far forth have shown themselves lacking in the law-abiding spirit; while the race that furnishes most of the victims makes no concerted effort to check the crimes which arouse the fury of the mob. And some courts of law have exposed themselves to the charge of indirect lawlessness by delaying so long the trial of criminals as to invite summary action on the part of the mob, or at least afford it a plausible excuse for such action.

Strikes, some of them of vast proportions and of long continuance, have been of frequent occurrence; and almost always a varied assortment of acts of lawlessness have followed in their wake, few of which have been brought to the bar of justice.

Not a few laws placed upon the statute-book by the chosen representatives of the people, and many of them essential to the well-being of the community, are practically a dead letter, or only partially en-

forced. This dereliction of duty on the part of those elected to execute the laws is another common phase of lawlessness.

The lawless spirit finds further illustration in the persistent and ingenious efforts, too generally successful, of men of large wealth and influence, and especially of great corporations, to evade and get around laws passed to protect the rights of the people from encroachment by unscrupulous greed.

During the past ten years there has been a yearly average of almost ten thousand homicides, or approximately one to every eight thousand of our population. Of these criminals only an insignificant fraction were ever brought to justice. In a single state where the murders mounted far up into the hundreds, less than a dozen were given the penalty of the law. In another state there were two hundred and twenty-three murder trials, only three of which resulted in sentences of death. Not long ago a judge stated from the bench that in his commonwealth, one of the oldest in the Union, with a population of about two and a quarter millions, there were one hundred and twenty-two homicides to one in England, and while here one in one hundred was convicted and punished, there the proportion was one in three. In London, with an area of six hundred and eighty-eight square miles and a population of six millions five hundred thousand, there were twenty murders in 1902. Excepting four who committed suicide, all the alleged criminals were arrested, nine were convicted and hung, and four adjudged insane. In an American city with less than one-third of the population of London, one hundred and twenty-eight homicides were reported; and while thirty-four convictions were secured, only one received the full penalty of the law.

Not unfrequently in the face of the clearest proof of guilt juries refuse to convict, and courts give an undue force to paltry technicalities, which results in the escape of some who are well known to richly deserve the penitentiary. The right of ap-

peal is often employed on the most flimsy pretexts in order to defeat the ends of justice; and in criminal cases verdicts resting upon irrefragable proof are set aside out of deference to "exceptions" based upon trifling errors which do not impeach the essential veracity of the evidence or the righteousness of the verdict. And there is a suspicion abroad that sometimes there is one law, or no law at all, for criminals who can command sufficient wealth or influence; while for others without influence or money, there is another law and the full extent of it. Thus court and jury in effect aid and abet unconsciously the spirit of lawlessness by showing themselves lacking in strict fidelity to law and justice.

Pardons are granted with such a free hand in deference to sentimental considerations or to the pressure of influential friends, when justice cannot be satisfied with anything short of the full sentence, that lawlessness is encouraged, respect for the sanctity of the law is greatly weakened, and the pardoning officers or boards may themselves justly be characterized as in a very true sense lawless.

A certain class of politicians, political bosses and their henchmen, who are in politics not for the purpose of serving the public, but for the power or pelf they can get out of it, are another lawless element in the body-politic. They scoff at the civil-service laws and take every possible opportunity to disregard them; they levy political assessments in violation of law; they place men in office who are their obedient servants, even to the extent of relaxing the laws that interfere with the schemes of their masters; they unlawfully use the municipal police to aid them in maintaining their power; they levy blackmail for the privilege of violating the laws; "speak-easies," pool-rooms, policy-shops, gambling-houses and other low dives flourish under their protecting ægis; they demand a bonus even from women who desire appointments as teachers; they violate election laws and commit the most bare-faced frauds upon the ballot-box;

they permeate the electorate even of whole states with the bribery of voters, thereby striking at the very foundation of government and law.

In these and other ways the lawless spirit is manifesting itself; and the apathy with which it is so generally regarded is an alarming feature of the situation. This widespread lawlessness of manhood and maturity has its source in youthful disregard of law. The absence of respect among youth for authority and law is evident even to the most casual observer. There is a general restiveness under legitimate restraint. Juvenile crime has long been on the increase. Of the one hundred thousand or more convicts in our prisons, reformatories and penitentiaries the majority are under thirty years of age. And the class of potential criminals from which our prison population comes is at least ten times as large. A revival and strengthening of the law-abiding spirit is imperatively demanded; and the school should be one of the most effective instruments to this end. Obedience to law, if it is to be characteristic of maturity, must be cultivated in youth.

Again: it belongs to the ethical function of the school to cultivate assiduously the cardinal virtues of personal honesty and integrity. The claim is probably a just one that the average standard of honesty among people in general was never higher than now, perhaps never so high. But if the true inwardness of business life were fully unveiled, an amount of dishonesty, fraud, deception and swindling,—“artistic,” it may be, but for all that unmitigated swindling,—would be revealed sufficient to cast grave doubts upon this claim. Whether the standard be higher or lower than formerly, it lamentably falls short of that which should characterize the business world. Even the South Sea and Mississippi Bubbles of unsavory history are matched, perhaps outdone, by the colossal frauds of the present day. Every now and then the lid is raised sufficiently to discover to us the seething mass of selfish greed of wealth beneath, that in reckless

abandon scruples at almost nothing to accomplish its ends, pays little heed to the dictates of honesty, and has little regard for the rights and interests of others.

“What I have is mine; what is yours is mine also, if I can take it, which I propose to do”—this is written all over the history of certain of the great corporations and trusts, which have accumulated for their members fortunes many times greater than those of Croesus, Gyges, and Midas all rolled into one. The present is a period preëminently of corporate dishonesty. Men who in their strictly private and personal relations would scorn to do a dishonest act, lend themselves as members of corporations to schemes and methods which by no possible shift of language can be described as honest and honorable. That inconvenient article called conscience is complacently left outside the door of the directors’ room, as the sandals at the door of a Mohammedan mosque.

Over-capitalization based upon purely imaginary values, upon which the public is compelled to pay extortionate returns; prospectuses deliberately framed to mislead and deceive; schemes to plunder both stockholders and creditors; stock-market “rigging”; cornering the market even in the necessities of life, in order to force up prices; professional promoters subordinating honor and honesty to success; underwriting syndicates demanding and receiving most exorbitant profits; syndicates of predatory politicians seizing upon valuable public-franchises for which they pay nothing; postal frauds; land-grabbing frauds; frauds upon the Indian wards of the nation; “grafts”; “rake-offs”; bribes in national, state and municipal administrations; a low standard of honor in political life—this in brief is the story of corruption and dishonesty inspired by the prevailing mania for wealth. It is the common belief, and a well-grounded one, that the gigantic fortunes of the present day are largely the product of selfish rapacity, which robs others of the just rewards of their labor,

disregards the righteous principle of "live and let live," and does not bother itself with inconvenient scruples, so long as its own coffers are made to burst with revenues. Much of the so-called "*haute finance*" which is so highly lauded now-a-days may well be described, from the standpoint of honesty, as "*basse finance*."

A renaissance of integrity and honesty is needed. The Golden Rule needs to be resurrected from the desuetude into which it has fallen, to have the cobwebs of long disuse dusted off and to be regilded and established in its proper place as the ruling principle in business as well as in all life. And the school should bear its part in common with other moral forces in bringing about this renaissance.

The school has a most important service to render in preparing youths for citizenship. No other moral agency has such an opportunity or responsibility. In order to make good citizens it is not enough to discipline the intellect, to inform the mind with knowledge, or to instruct merely in the theory of our government and in the special sphere and duties of each department of administration.

The moral principles that underlie good citizenship, and the obligations growing out of these should be faithfully inculcated. The spirit of true citizenship should be cultivated, the sense of personal responsibility as a citizen; interest not merely in the material welfare and glory of our country, but far more in the progress of the nation in the higher elements of its life; loyalty and patriotism, not of the counterfeit, tinsel variety, which applauds everything the nation does, regardless of its moral quality, but that loyalty and patriotism which applies moral principles to public affairs and takes as its motto: "My country, right or wrong; when right, to help keep her right; when wrong, to help put her right."

What elements and characteristics belong to the ideal community, state or nation, toward which the world is slowly but steadily moving, should be made clear

to the student, and wherein present conditions fall short of that ideal and what the individual citizen should do to hasten its realization. The student should be instructed as to the services which the community, state and nation, properly administered, render as a body-politic to the individual citizen, and in the corresponding duties of the citizen himself, to obey law and authority, and to sustain the government in enforcing the laws; to vote intelligently and conscientiously, not as a mere partisan, but with sole reference to the highest public good, and for no candidate whose associations, personal character and principles do not guarantee an upright administration of office; and when holding office, to administer it honestly as a public trust and not with a view to getting out of it all he possibly can for himself; to bear his share of the burden of taxation imposed for the support of government; and to respect public and private property, not wasting, injuring, defacing or destroying it. Every student should graduate from school an intelligent believer in a reformed civil-service, based upon ascertained fitness, efficiency, and integrity, and not upon political opinions or political "pull."

If ours is to continue a government of the people, for the people and by the people, American citizenship needs a thorough-going reformation. The frequent revelations of corruption, boodling, bribery, graft and official dishonesty, and the systematic sacrifice of the public interests to private greed, especially in municipal administration, and the general indifference, not to say moral cowardice, of the voters in the presence of these patent evils are all startling proofs of the weakness, inefficiency and lack of principle of our citizenship. If this condition is to be changed for the better, our schools and colleges must do more than they are doing to produce ideal citizens,—men like Abram S. Hewitt, Andrew H. Green and William E. Dodge; not necessarily men of equal ability, but men who will bring a like spirit and devotion and high principle

to the common, every-day duties of citizenship.

In fulfilling its ethical function the school should inculcate in connection with the teaching of history right ideas respecting war, that the pupil may in some measure realize its true character and, when he becomes a citizen, use his influence and his vote in the interest of peace and goodwill with other nations. Wars should be studied ethically with regard to their causes and results, without dwelling too minutely upon their details and incidents. It should, however, be made plain that war is a calamity, which brings the gravest evils in its train and is to be entered upon only for reasons that will bear the closest examination and meet the highest moral tests before the final court of impartial history.

Is there, or can there be, in any true sense of the word such a thing as civilized warfare? Important as have been General Order No. 100, issued by our own government in 1863 for the guidance of our officers and soldiers in the Civil war, the Geneva Convention of 1864 to secure better care for the wounded, the Declaration of Brussels in 1874, the Oxford Resolutions in 1880, and the Laws and Customs of War upon Land, established by the Conference at The Hague in 1899, and our own new Naval War-Code,—important and influential as all these movements have been, they have served only to ameliorate some of the harsher conditions of war; they have not and they cannot abolish its essential uncivilization. General W. T. Sherman, who came more and more to abhor war from the depths of his soul, justly characterized it as "hell." "War is cruelty," he declared with his well-known vigor of speech, "and you cannot refine it." No possible amelioration can take away its essentially hellish character. That can and will cease only when war itself ceases and the reign of peace and goodwill has come in. The evil moral influences of war insidiously permeate the entire nation. Every war in which we have been engaged has bequeathed a leg-

acy of evil consequences upon public and private morals, perpetuating themselves long after the close of the struggle.

That is the highest statesmanship which sedulously avoids war and accomplishes its ends by peaceful means; and in general a policy, however ostensibly beneficent, that requires for its accomplishment a resort to arms, is thereby discredited and self-condemned. If really benevolent, it will employ only benevolent methods and beneficent means. The surest guarantee of peace is not the mailed fist or a "big stick," the accumulation of vast military armaments, armies and navies, but rather the careful avoidance of aggression upon the rights of other nations, the cultivation of the spirit of peace among all peoples and the will among the governments to settle their controversies by means of international arbitration. *Si vis pacem, para pacem, non bellum.*

These facts and principles should be made prominent in the ethical teaching of our schools. The legitimate uses of an army and navy should be explained and also the unnecessary burdens which a large and expensive military and naval establishment imposes upon the nation. Recently in connection with the founding of a National Naval League for the purpose of cultivating in our people a general demand for a huge navy, it has been seriously proposed that our schools and teachers be made use of for this purpose. There could scarcely be any greater perversion of education to unworthy ends. The militant, belligerent spirit needs no cultivation; it should rather be restrained and repressed. The military hero should not be unduly glorified. Instruction in history should emphasize rather the victories and victors of peace, her examples of civic virtue, heroism and achievement, as worthy of higher and more lasting honor than the more spectacular heroes of war.

The ethical function of the school may be summed up in one short phrase—the cultivation of high ideals of character and living. If the moral ideal is to influence

and control in after life, it must be built into the character in youth. Then is the time to shape personal ideals, to establish them upon a high plane of principle and motive. A person is what his ideals make him. If they are commonplace and low, then his life becomes paltry and mean. A youth who leaves school without having had a noble ideal of living wrought into the very fiber of his soul has missed incomparably the most valuable part of education. And the school or college that does not accomplish this fails of its highest purpose, however effective it may be in purely intellectual training. For there are multitudes of people well educated intellectually, whose ideals are narrow, selfish and altogether ignoble.

The atmosphere of many a life is charged with a trifling, frivolous spirit. Luxury and pleasure-seeking go hand in hand with the mad rush after wealth, while the homely, essential virtues are slowly becoming enervated and enfeebled. Serious, earnest purpose and aspiration after the higher, permanent elements of living are deplorably lacking. With multitudes moral considerations are at a discount; and the higher law is treated with scant respect, when it comes into conflict with selfish material interests in individual, corporate and national life.

There is sorely needed to-day a revival of moral ideals. They are suffering an eclipse by the greedy, grasping, mercenary spirit of the times, which measures success by the money standard. They have been called iridescent dreams, beautiful for play of color, but impossible of realization. And we are told that "as society is now constituted, the ideal has no place, not even standing-room, in the arena of civics." If this is intended to describe conditions as they actually exist, it may be admitted to be true. But if it be meant that the ideal should or can have no place, no standing-room, then every earnest soul must rise in protest against the affirmation.

Success is the high and mighty Zeus towering up in gilded majesty, that

gathers to his feet a countless crowd of worshippers. And when it is asked who his high-mightiness may be, they tell us his name is Riches, Wealth. In the minds of the unreasoning,—that is to say, in the minds of the great mass of people, the criterion of success is the size of the fortune a man has accumulated. And the saying, "Nothing succeeds like success," is made to cover a multitude of sins that may have been committed in the process of winning it. Wherever the mercenary estimate of success prevails, higher aims and ideals shrivel up and become atrophied, getting on in the world comes to be regarded as the chief end of man, and the moral quality of the means used to this end ceases to be closely scrutinized.

There is no ideal but what has some element of truth and genuine power in it so long as it is kept in its proper place and in due relation to the other and higher ideals. It is the supreme office of moral education to exalt the ideal and to inspire the young to strive after it. The school should train to discriminate between the various ideals which appeal to the human heart, to assess each at its true valuation, and to hold the lower in subordination to the higher. It should cultivate that conception of living which views it as something far higher and comprehending much more than merely getting a living or making a fortune, and that conception of success which refuses to call it such unless it has been obtained by honorable means and is used for worthy purposes.

Not only should the school train to habits of thoroughness in work, but also to right ideas of work itself. The dignity of all labor, no matter how humble it may be, provided it is honest and useful, should be a cardinal doctrine of all moral teaching. The school can do much to correct the false ideas about work now so prevalent, the distaste for manual labor, the contempt for ordinary handicrafts, the fear of soiling the hands, and the wrong estimates of the dignity or social importance of different employments.

In choosing an occupation, the young should be led to apply those principles which approve themselves in the court of morals. Any occupation which coins money out of the evil passions, habits and tendencies or morbid tastes of humanity should be shunned, no matter how lucrative it may be. No business should be undertaken which cannot meet these tests: Is it likely to prove a moral damage to him who engages in it, or to others? Can the individual render through this employment a real service to his fellows and to the community? Any work which fulfills these tests and is done in this spirit, however humble it may be in outward seeming, becomes at once glorified in honor and worthiness.

The keynote of all ethical teaching and training in our schools should be the all-inclusive principle contained in the Gold-

en Rule. The school should lead the pupil to apply it practically in the associations of school-life, and teach him its applications in the wider field of society, its inconsistency with the doctrines that "Might makes right" and "The end justifies the means," which find so many illustrations in the individual, corporate and national life of to-day.

To use the words of Mr. Gladstone, which fitly close John Morley's life of the statesman, the school, if it faithfully fulfills its ethical function, will send forth each passing generation of youth "inspired with the belief that life is a great and noble calling; not a mean and groveling thing, that we are to shuffle through as we can, but an elevated and lofty destiny."

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LESSONS OF THE JAPANESE RENAISSANCE.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN WARD STIMSON,

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IT WOULD be a public calamity for our nation to allow the great lesson of Japan's renaissance and her astounding victories achieved with such surprising swiftness, to pass unheeded or uncomprehended by our people. The United States may be said to be responsible for the opening up of Japanese civilization to modern thought, since our squadron, under Commodore Perry, knocked so imperatively at her doors. It was a sure Providence and deep intuition of coming world necessities which turned her cordial attention to us, and sent her leading students to our shores with as certain an instinct of her need of us as we of her. And surely we were to learn as vital and far-reaching lessons from her as she from us.

It cannot be doubted that her wonderful life of three thousand years, during

which she outlived Egypt, Greece, Rome, even the Italian Republics and Spain, and which now blooms to even more amazing splendor in her science, arts, civil reformatations and military power, must possess some abiding internal virtues and probities quite worthy the attention of a republic such as ours, that in one short hundred years has already mingled so many virtues and opportunities of youth with such appalling senility and decadent vices of old age.

There is something almost uncanny, and certainly awe-inspiring, to see with what silent, sphinx-like reserve, self-respect and resolution Japan quietly sent her best men to look over the various civilizations of the earth, gather up and apply any suggestions she thought worthy to adapt to her own, and then suddenly,

heroically, unhesitatingly rose and crushed the backward despotism of China, and fearlessly took up the gauntlet thrown down by Europe's great despotism. Surely she deserves the cheer of admiration that is ringing from every other free land; for in actual perspicacity, parliamentary progress, educational and engineering improvements, fiscal and sanitary reforms (not to mention her marvelous military and naval strength and mobilizations, her fine field and hospital provisions, and ethical consideration for humanity and the obligations of international law), she has actually proved herself more Christian than Christendom, and certainly far more so than the pretentious but spurious sacerdotalism of Russia that has for centuries been in collusion with despotism in all its infamous cruelties and oppressions, or than backward China, with its blind fanaticisms and superstitions.

We might even say that, by historic probity, through long centuries, Japan so developed her own home resources without trespassing upon the rights of her neighbors (when her immense military genius would have enabled her to trespass), that she has quite put to the blush the hypocrisy of nominally "more enlightened" and more self-righteous nations, that (including ourselves) have not failed to belie their morality at home and abroad by taking advantage of inoffensive and home-respecting peoples in Africa, India, Mexico, the Philippines, etc.

Let us glance, then, a little seriously at some of the moral and mental characteristics of these people, as well as at some of those of her European rivals who have gone to decay, in order to note some of the reasons of Japan's survival and virility, contrasted with the others' latent weakness and decline. It is but obvious and acknowledged history to confess that in the case of Egypt the despotic greed of sacerdotal priestcraft so stereotyped the essence of spirituality and of humanity into pretentious but dead forms; and so sacrificed the industrial classes (and even the political and military) to their own

priestly glorification; and even life itself to the grim phantasms of post-mortal punishment, that the very land became a museum of tombs, and the dry sands of the Saharan desert at last swept to oblivion their gilded charnel-house.

In Greece the love of mere learning and the subtle vanity of intellect ate out the heart of unselfish morality and the joy of their first heroic patriotism. So she, too, dropped to decay and death.

Rome blighted in the same way her own first pristine love of democracy and of respect for independent manhood. As Egypt had sold her soul to greedy priests, and Greece to flippant savants and aesthetes, so Rome went to ruin for the more beastly appetite for "bread and circuses," purveyed to by a cruel and corrupt military class which blighted public conscience by hollow spectacular effects and covered the monstrous wrong they did their own and other peoples by displays of disgusting games, sybarite luxuries and ostentatious largess distributed from other people's property.

Spain herself, though nominally inspired by a better religion, soon lost its animus in the same greed for other people's homes and honest earnings; and so lost them all, and ultimately lost herself.

And now comes Russia (the last heritor of the Cæsarian and military fetish and direct descendant of the exploded concepts of despotism and of absurd absolutism, which wrecked Xerxes at Marathon), allied with the flimsy sacerdotalism of Egypt and of Rome, which wholly misconceives the essence of religious brotherhood and is perfectly willing to sacrifice its principle to political chicanery and to scandalous persecution. And lo! upon the very Siberian field where cries the blood of so many exiles and martyrs drawn from her most progressive, intellectual and heroic citizens, she has met more humiliating defeats at the hands of the liliputian kingdom of the Mikado than she met from the armed hosts of Europe's mightiest warrior.

For the world sees perfectly well that it

is the vanity, brutal autocracy and greed of Russia's false leaders that have fallen, and that are being so bravely resisted by Japan. It is not the humble and much-abused proletariat of Russia against which Japan battles, but the insanely arbitrary and grasping court clique, which hides behind the fetish of absolutism and sacerdotalism at St. Petersburg and which misuses the people of its own and other lands for the corruption of the body-politic and for the distress of unoffending neighbors. Not content with robbing and abusing Poland and Lithuania, and even threatening the free development of Sweden and Persia, Russia has wantonly robbed China and threatened the homes of Japan.

The steady progress of essential Christianity and humanity, though too often abused by its most pretentious professors and too frequently better appreciated and practiced by those called "heathen" or unallied with clericalism, has really advanced. Mankind as a whole distinguishes more clearly than ever the true from the false; and there is to-day at the heart of the race a finer perception of essential justice and essential religion than ever. Indeed, the amazing energy, held so many centuries in reserve by Japan, and kept back from aggression by being applied on home development and marvelous industrial character, has been largely due to a pure spiritual perception of the nearness of God in human affairs, and of the immanence of Deity in all nature surrounding us. More than this, the Christ-words, by which he eternally dignified labor and doomed speculative rapine or parasitism—"My Father worketh hitherto and I work"—have been more intuitively understood and practiced in Japan than perhaps by any other race of men.

In no nation is there such a profound poetic sympathy with the Spirit of Nature as in Japan; and nowhere have an entire people, for so many centuries, shown such practical respect for and joy in their marvelously beautiful and infinite applications

of energy and feeling to labor and skill. Nowhere has labor, for itself and for its joyous and beneficent uplifting of feeling and intelligence to the laborer, been so appreciated and applied. Nowhere has a people so loved and cherished and improved every picturesque and inspiring element in Nature's self-manifestation of handiwork, in land or sea, gem or flower, bird, beast or spontaneous life of man. Nowhere have natural material and technical possibilities of process been so intimately and artistically sought out with a reverence and joy essentially religious.

Ruskin well brings out the fact that in no way can the soul more truly and wholesomely develop essential religion than in reverent appreciation of nature and the reapplication of her lessons to daily industrial life.

Furthermore, all travelers and writers testify to the excellent practical influence of the spiritual perceptions of the people (and even the precepts of Buddha) on conduct and manners, in universal gentleness, cleanliness, politeness, simplicity, democracy and patriotism, in which even their aristocracy shares. In no country has the nobility so promptly and bloodlessly relinquished old privileges and perquisites to the general good as in the last fifty years of parliamentary reform; and none have shared more zealously in the public burden and defence, with their persons and property. Nowhere has there therefore been so little class-jealousy or labor conflict. The whole nation has been a great labor-kindergarten in which all souls together were educated to its respect and admiration, by a national life in the open, full of beautiful and intelligent production, where the very qualities of originality, taste, inventiveness and manhood in the worker were sympathetically encouraged, not crushed to death by the demon of greed and mechanical repetition. This has in no degree lessened, but rather augmented, their civil content, yet splendid military capacities. Mere bulk of bone is not a test of moral discipline or martial courage. A brutalized labor-class

may be tricked or forced into wars by scheming or aggressive potentates; but if intelligence and moral sympathy are absent, evidences are superabundant throughout history that they are scattered by fewer and even smaller men more resolutely and heroically inspired. History is full of such instances. Yet never in history has there been witnessed more clear moral consecration to right principles, unflinching patriotism, patient discipline, and sublime heroism to overleap death itself, than in these little brown men of the Land of the Rising Sun.

It is a sad thing, to-day, in this twentieth century of pretentious civilization and in the face of International Peace Congresses, hypocritically summoned by such despots as the Czar himself, to see millions of peaceful producers slaughtered by machinations of wanton aggressors, whether in South Africa, Bulgaria, Manchuria, or the Philippines. But if ever

there was a legitimate and honorable struggle of a noble, intelligent and remarkably unaggressive people to defend its rights, the rights of humanity, international treaties, progressive science, industry, free conscience and free speech, it is in the magnificent example this renaissance of Japan has given the world.

I have in my possession, through the courtesy of a Japanese friend, a letter from his brother on the field of battle, in which occur these noble words, as worthy of Thermopylæ, or Marathon, or Lutzen, or Naseby, as of Bunker Hill:

"I write, dear brother, on the eve of battle and in the exposed front rank; and this may be our last word of affection on earth. But if I fall to-morrow for Japan, I know that I give my life for essential civilization and the triumph of Human Brotherhood."

JOHN WARD STIMSON.

Redding Center, Conn.

THE WINDOW OF THE SOUL.

BY CHARLES C. ABBOTT, M.D.,

Author of In Nature's Realm, Upland and Meadow, Notes of the Night, Outings at Odd Times, etc.

WHENEVER I have been looking at a wild creature directly in the eye a feeling came over me quite different from that when observing the same creature as it simply crossed my path. What is the precise state of their consciousness, when stared at, doubtless is beyond human skill to determine, but I seem always, at such a time, to be in touch with life as under no other circumstances. Let it be, as has been asserted, all imagination on my side and but witless gaze upon the creature's part; still I cannot rid myself of the impression that the eye of an animal presents something more than the glitter of a vitreous humor and crystalized lens. There seems something beyond mere play of light on glassy substance, for when the

diamond's sparkle or the fairy-glow of an opal charms us, we think only of the wonderful brilliancy of the splendid colors. It is a trick of light that makes but an eye-deep impression. Not so the confiding, timid or defiant look of an animal. We are not affected by the mere lack or excess of brightness; the eye itself is forgotten. There is something behind it that concerns us. We are appealed to or warned. We recognize life addressing life; the eye becomes a window of the soul.

But, we are told, animals have no souls. As the word stands for more in the dictionary than science is concerned with, so we use it in the sense only of advanced consciousness. This is within the realm of demonstrable fact—beyond is that of psy-

chologic theory. It is useless to worry over words and struggle for absolute lucidity. Even Shelley was forced to foot-note an essay, exclaiming: "These words are ineffectual and metaphorical. Most words are so—No help!" It is not the physiology of vision, but a psychology of a tangible sort that concerns us when, for instance, we look a snapping-turtle in the eye. There is no object in all creation more malignant, and the reptile is what its eye expresses. He is blind indeed who fails to interpret the fell meaning thereof.

If the creature has no mental power and needs vision merely that it may see its way and detect the approach of prey, why not a dull, lusterless eye of limited power? In this instance, the eye is certainly not a lure, but a warning. It is the incarnation of blood-thirstiness and distinctly a detriment to the animal, when it is not concealed by the mud and dense aquatic growths. Agassiz has stated that the snapper begins snapping before it is hatched. It is wholly carnivorous, with no lights and shadows of existence, no variation of moods. Ravenous and without fear, this is why the eye's expression never changes. As man recognizes the evidences of varying emotions, there is but a single one in a snapper's eye. It is the window from which destruction glares upon the world.

In times past I have amused myself with many a captured hawk, and once played with a caged golden eagle. All that I ventured to do was determined by these birds' expressions and not by their bodies' attitudes. The eye always forewarned and the bird's purpose was made evident. Here was a marked difference from the savage turtle. Equally fierce at times, but not always so. They live in a larger world; life abounds in experience; at its outset there is much more to learn; practice only makes perfect not only in simple flight, but in hovering, and the swift descent that alone secures the prey. It is not strange, then, that leading such an existence, the mood varies and the eye expresses something more than does that of

the turtle living in and under water. To it, storms and sunshine, and the round of the seasons mean but little; to the bird of prey they are full of significance of the utmost importance.

Wit grows under such conditions, and wit has no other means of making itself apparent than in the changing expression of the visual organ. All bodily movements are complementary. The former conveys unerringly to us the current purpose of the bird, whether that of indifference, irritation or intended defensive action. Mechanically the eye is always the same, there is no rearrangement of parts, as in a kaleidoscope, but something gives us the impression of a radical change, and that something is the bird's consciousness, its recognition of the requirements of the varying conditions with which it is surrounded. Like Byron's pirate,

"The mildest manner'd man
That ever scuttled ship or cut a throat,"

so the hawk can be gentle and playful at times, and when so, the eye is not that which marks intended prey or with unflinching gaze draws nearer to the fiery source of light. In short, we have life of far higher development to deal with in the bird than in the turtle, and our guide is not the eye merely, but the consciousness that controls it. Feathers, beak and claws are but outward manifestations. Its real presence is less tangible but not less certain. We are assured of its existence by the meaning-full glances of the creature's eye.

Life, one, whether animal or vegetable, was the claim of scholars not so long ago, and now another chapter is added to the story—"mineral." Already we read of the life and diseases of metals. The whole subject centers in the one word, "life," as an omnipresent, all-pervading essence. This does not lessen the dread significance of death, but simply means that much we have been thinking dead was really not dead, but very much alive. Ever the same life, but how infinitely varied in its manifestations! There may

be "one flesh of men, another of birds, another of fishes," but the self-same consciousness pervades it all. The material is nothing; that which animates it, everything. All music is sound, but not all sound is music. There is melody never to be forgotten that falls from the lips of those we love, and distracting noise only when the hiss of a snake falls upon the ear. It is the same "life" that commands our attention in each instance. Science has yet to demonstrate more than one consciousness, and is no more likely to do so than to prove the existence of more than one atmosphere. Until it does, man, snake, tree and metal are cousins of varying degree, never without one quality in common—life, endlessly varied as to its manifestations, but never wholly different, separate and apart.

So far as men and animals are concerned, the readily recognized difference in the "life" of each lies in the fact that the senses of animals, particularly sight, hearing and smell, have advanced far beyond our own, and what we call their "intelligence" has grown on that basis and not upon cerebral development, which brings experience to the front and leads us to depend on it. The higher faculty gaining the ascendancy has led to the disuse of the older methods, and its capabilities have become infinitely greater. Some species of men have forged ahead intellectually until the gap is wider between them and the lowest races of mankind than between the latter and the higher apes. The highest type of manhood has become so cerebral that the body has suffered until it has happened that in frames racked by disease and inadequate except to languidly

fill a chair and fretfully hold a pen, many an intellect has set the world to thinking as it never before thought. But not all the physical man has degenerated. Never a poet or philosopher whose eye had lost its brightness. That organ ever remains the window of the soul. It signifies nothing that Milton was blind. He was not so at his birth, and that which in declining years he dictated was the echo of impressions gained when his vision was unimpaired. Had he written his epic with his eyes open, perhaps it would be more read to-day.

So long as there is an eye to respond to our own inquiring gaze; so long as there is an eye other than our own to glitter in rage, soften in confidence, or grow defiant, so long will the feeling be constant that an intelligence so far akin to our own as to make possible intercommunication of ideas, governs the less elaborately-fashioned forms of animal life, and such eyes are the windows of consciousness from which it is no easy task to wholly dissociate the human "soul." The mere dictum of philosophers who have lived exclusively in the world of theory is not sufficient, albeit for more than one millenium it has been held to be so. Not in this world are we likely to know the full meaning of what we glibly call "life," and think it as readily defined as any other word in common use. It were better to confess our ignorance than to be forever groping in every direction but the right one, and this as yet has proved insuperably barred. Nature has seen fit to shut this gate of knowledge on mankind.

CHARLES C. ABBOTT.

Trenton, N. J.



THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART.

NEW YORK AS AN ART CENTER.

BY F. EDWIN ELWELL,

Curator of the Department of Ancient and Modern Statuary in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

IN THE early days of the Republic there was a sculptor by the name of John Dixey, who was the first to place an important statue on a beautiful civic building. That statue is there to-day on the dome of the New York City-Hall. Although it is not as fine in outline as some of the more modern work, still it shows a considerable degree of understanding of what was necessary for a finial to a building.

Most of the real art-life of New York City seems to have had its beginning in the effort of a few art-loving gentlemen to establish a Museum of Art in the city. So

small was this beginning that little notice was taken of the objects in view, and so the great institution that now ranks as the third most important in the world was permitted by the gentle hand of fate to grow into a strong, robust child before it was attacked with a view to upset its noble purposes.

New York art, therefore, had its solid rise in the founding of this noble institution, and in the determined character and genius of General L. P. di Cesnola, who has been the Director almost from the beginning, and who is perhaps the most distinguished man in museum work in the



THE HEBER R. BISHOP COLLECTION OF JADE AND OTHER HARD STONES IN THE
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART.



William Henry Rinehart, Sculp.

LATONA AND HER CHILDREN APOLLO AND DIANA.

(In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.)

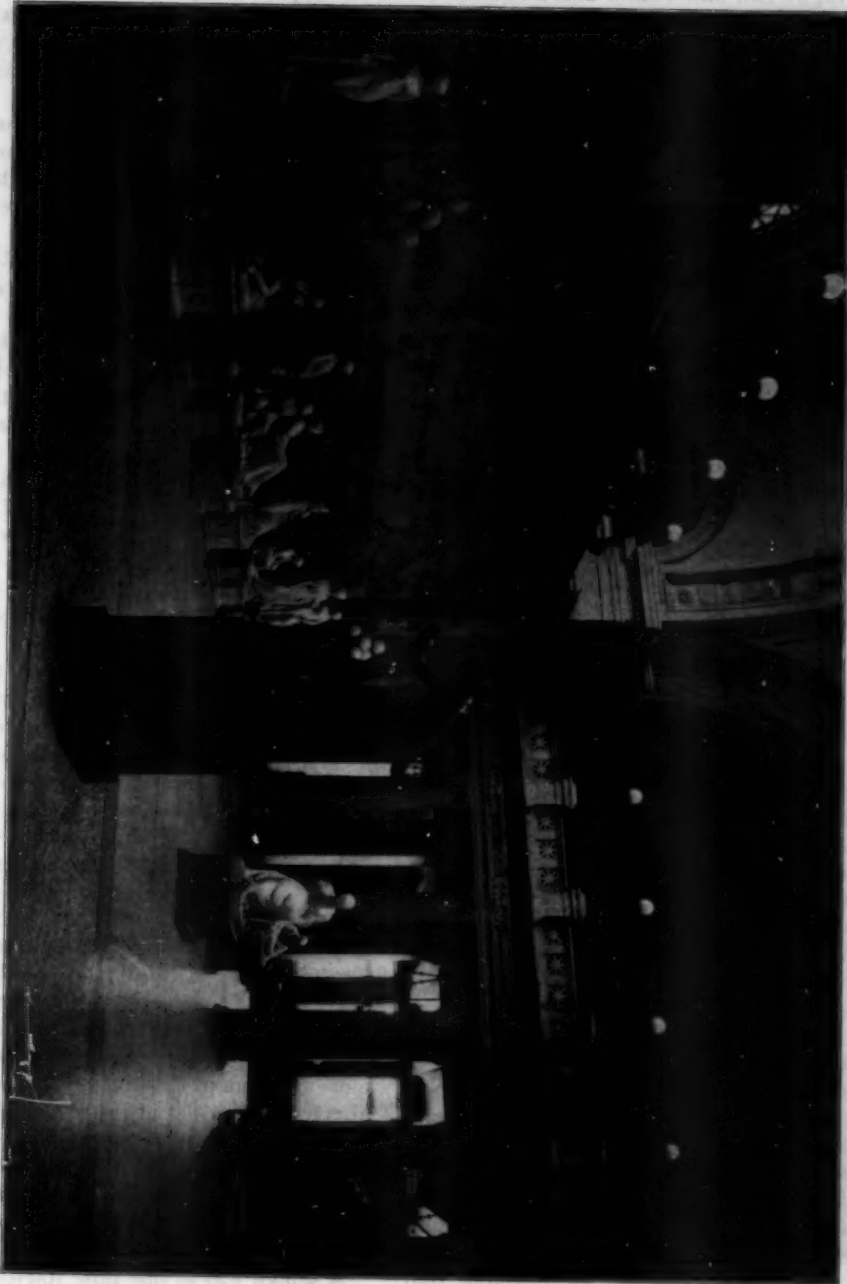
Loaned by Col. E. P. C. Lewis.

world to-day. Not until the Cyprus collection arrived was there any strong artistic impulse in the greatest city of America. No one may know why a great people remain in a state of lethargy until some unexpected occurrence directs a great movement. Had it not been for the war of the Rebellion, this great genius in museum work would probably not have come to America. He early espoused the cause of freedom and was a distinguished officer in the Civil war. He afterwards went to Cyprus as American Consul, and there made extensive and valuable discoveries that have since enriched the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the world. In 1883 these discoveries were attacked by some very inferior newspaper critics, and for a time a measure of doubt was cast upon them. Time alone has proved their intrinsic worth, not alone to American

art, but to the world of art in general. They formed the nucleus around which one of the greatest art institutions of the civilized world has been formed.

With the ever-increasing growth of the Museum, there has been a natural increase in the love of art in New York City. Thousands of students from other parts of the United States have come to see and be impressed by the wonderful collections in this vast building. The Museum offers naturally, a great opportunity to exhibit splendid works in painting and sculpture by foreign artists. For the first time in the history of the country one can walk in the numerous galleries of painting and feel the same sense of satisfaction that he has in some of the galleries of Europe.

The newspaper critic has, of course, been busy with his muddy pen, belaboring some of the work exhibited; but when one



THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART—HALL OF SCULPTURE—LOOKING SOUTH.

knows that these penny-a-liners have to live, we can understand that an attack on a good work of art is likely to afford an opportunity for a competent reply, with the result that public interest is stimulated, the false attack is answered and the cause of education advanced. Since the Sunday opening of the Museum the public has had an opportunity to see and judge as to the merits of the works of art exhibited; and it is wonderful how eagerly the people have improved the opportunity given to them—wonderful that in the City of New York, the greatest business-center of America, fourteen thousand citizens should visit this temple of art between the hours of one and five. And this is not merely one day, but very frequently.

Few of us begin to realize the significance and value to our people of this great temple of art in the center of the throbbing life of the metropolis, built by the city itself, housing the objects of ancient and modern art collected by patience and judgment. These works have come from all parts of the world, from ancient and remote periods of the race-life of man, all to attest to the fact that deep in the soul of humanity there is an inherent desire to perpetuate the memory of some noble deed or some thought of beauty wholly apart from the mundane things of natural existence.

New York has set an example that should be followed in every large and small city of the nation. It would not be

possible to obtain such rare collections as form a part of the wonders of the Metropolitan Museum, but there are excellent artists in modern times who are worthy of encouragement and whose work will increase in value as time goes on. Their work should be gathered in museums, so that posterity can come near to us and the motives that inspired our daily lives.

A better class of monuments are being erected in New York City to-day on account of the fact that the millions who visit the Museum gather in their own quiet way such knowledge of art as prepares them to discriminate between that which is thoroughly bad and that which has artistic feeling.

Gradually there have arisen in the city schools of art, and exhibitions have been the outlet for the productive side of the many artists who have found that they could be inspired by the works at the Museum and could be taught in the excellent art-schools.

The Art Students' League sprang into existence from the desire of certain young artists to break away from the Academy and to have

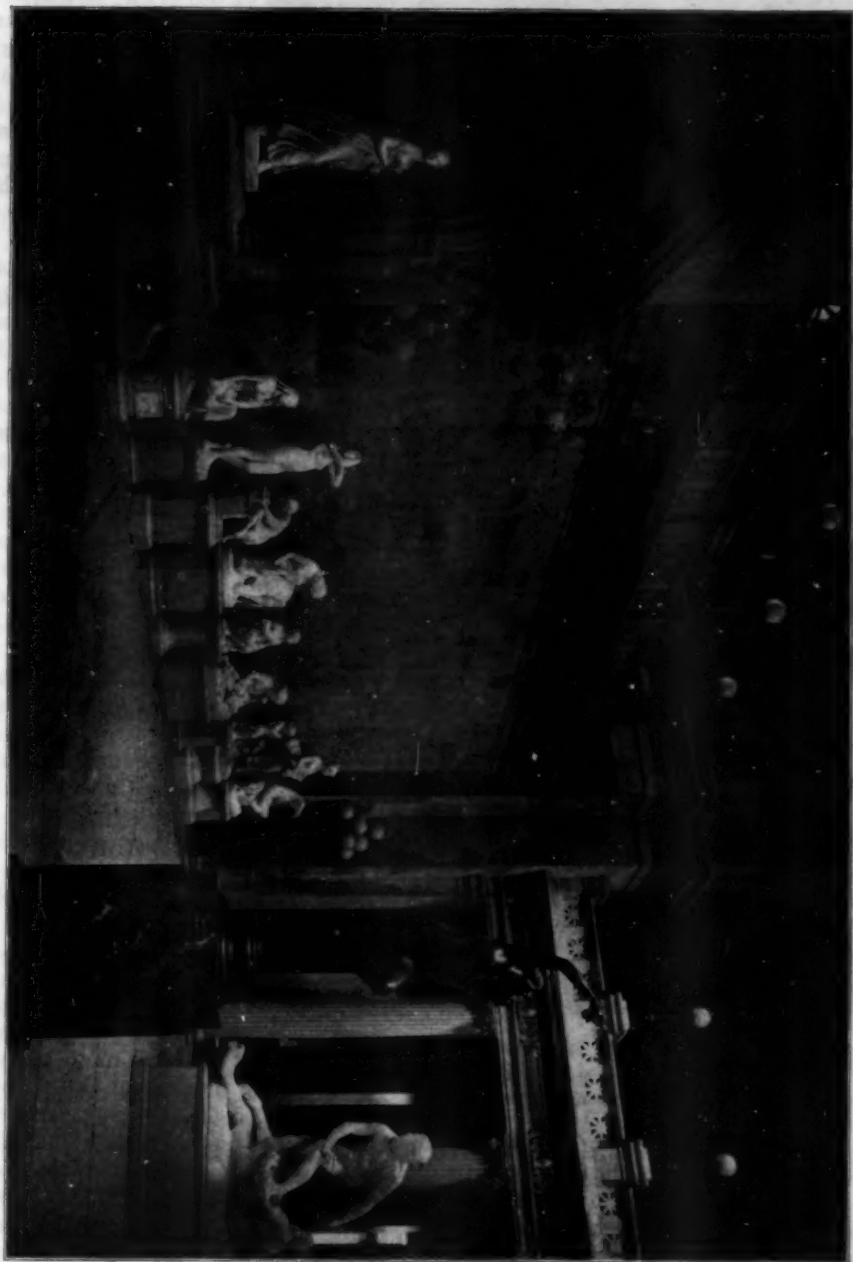
more freedom of thought-action and more liberty to work as they saw fit. This institution has had a long and interesting career, and many of the students now working in art all over this country have received at some time instruction from the League.

A school was at one time started in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but it proved a hindrance to the great work that



ANCIENT STATUE FROM THE
CESNOLA COLLECTION.

(In the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)



THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART—HALL OF SCULPTURE—LOOKING NORTH.



Frederick W. MacMonnies, Sculp.

"BACCHANTE."

(In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.)

Presented by Hon. Charles F. McKim.

fate had ordained this museum should do for the artistic life of the nation.

So important is a great museum to art-life that its mission is rather as a storehouse of beautiful works, where the student can go and study undisturbed by the noise and bustle of an art-school. A great museum, full of the dignity of ages,

cannot be a school for modern instruction; so the Honorable Board of Trustees wisely decided to give up the school and to let the artist come in on Mondays and Fridays to draw, paint and model, with permits from the different departments. This has seemed to be of great benefit to all artists who go to New York City and desire to study from the examples of ancient and modern art.

It is greatly to the credit of the Director and the Trustees of this museum that they have the finest collection of casts in plaster in the world; and an architect or sculptor can find inspiration for his work that can be found nowhere else.

The National Academy of Design served its purpose, grew old, and is not yet dead. There seems to come a time in the life of all art organizations when the spirit of individuality dies down and the commercial element obtains control. This had been the case with the Academy. The younger men, moved no doubt as much by Mr. William M. Chase as any one else, broke away from the parent institution and formed the Society of

American Artists. Mr. Abbot Thayer was at one time president of the younger body of artists, as was also Mr. St. Gaudens; but it, too, drifted into the hands of men given to manipulation and strong commercial tendencies. However, during its better life it established a love for true art on a higher plane than had ever ex-

isted before, and will therefore always be looked upon as one of the forward movements of the art-life of New York City.

That the inherent spirit of freedom is a part of the artists' nature cannot be better illustrated than in the fact that twelve artists of note left the Society of American Artists and formed a new coterie that refused to have anything to do with the older society. This is rather healthy in character, for as fast as the sordid, commercial spirit creeps into an art organization the true artist refuses to connect his name longer with what he feels is most inartistic. So progress is achieved, despite the bitter feelings engendered by the separations that have taken place in the onward movement in the art-life of the city.

New York City is the natural art-center of the continent, because all the traffic of the world sooner or later must seek the great metropolis for some measure of trade and influence. Despite the political upheavals and the incoming masses of the wretched poor and off-scouring of other countries, New York stands toward the United States as possessing the weight of genius and brains of the country. That she has not reached her possibility in matters of civic art is due as much to the art politicians as to anything else. These schemers are quick to take advantage of what seems to them a natural opportunity to earn a livelihood at the expense of a credulous public.

The largest shops for the sale of art are in our city, and whenever a rich man desires the best art works in the market he must visit New York and there make his purchase from the dealers, who in some cases are grasping and commercial; but in the main good works of art by foreign and native artists can be had for reasonable prices.

American pictures and sculpture are receiving more attention from the dealers, and the public is content to have on the walls of rich palaces good works by American artists. The sooner the public appreciates the work of our own men of genius, the sooner will there be added opportunity for the artist to do his best work

in America and see in his own country his best market for works of art.

There is no better teacher of art than a great noble work in sculpture or painting. In no other walk of life is there such an absolute necessity for example as in art. The higher the thought, the greater the effort to honestly depict the inspirations of the individual mind of the artist; the more true to nature and its great dignity, the better the result in art and the



GRECO-ETRUSCAN CHARIOT. 700-600 B. C.

(In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.)

Purchased from Income of the Rogers Fund, 1908.

higher the standard of thought in a community. Where little or no art exists there is a poverty of those higher feelings that make up the joy of living.

The art of a nation is quite as important to its life as its commerce, yet it is not so readily understood by the masses. When the sky-scraper and the trolley-car will be heaps of rubbish in the centuries to come, the Pyramids of Egypt and the statues of Greece will still tell their story to posterity.

F. EDWIN ELWELL.

New York City.



GABRIELLE REJANE.



IN "HEUREUSE."



IN "SYLVIE."



IN "DOLL'S HOUSE."

GABRIELLE REJANE, FROM RECENT PHOTOGRAPHS.

GABRIELLE REJANE.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

MUCH interest is felt among the more thoughtful of our theatergoers in the approaching American tour of the great French actress, Rejane; for we are coming to appreciate the fact that the appearance in our midst of the great dramatic interpreters from the intellectual capitals of the Old World broadens and deepens our culture, stimulating the mental faculties and quickening the imagination in such ways as to make for breadth of thought, intellectual hospitality, refinement in taste, and increased appreciation for the masterpieces of classic and contemporaneous literature—in a word, for education in its broader signification.

Much has been said and written about the folly of Americans as exhibited in the liberal patronage of foreign stars who find the United States a veritable Golconda; but however just this criticism may be when it applies to the foreigners who, wanting in ability, have through accident gained ephemeral popularity, we feel that it is far from true when applied to those who are really great in their chosen field. A Salvini or a Duse, for example, whose genius is a revelation to the auditors, or a careful and conscientious actor such as Sir Henry Irving, whose attention to historical details is such that his presentations of classic and modern masterpieces bring before the mind faithful pictures of the life, the times, customs, habits and costumes of the eras depicted, gives incomparably more of intrinsic value to the auditors and to society than is received in money from those who are the recipients of the pleasure and education which the great artist confers.

For the student of life in its broader aspects there is also a psychological interest attaching to the work of great artists of other races and lands, quite apart from the new light which their interpretations

throw upon the capital dramas of literature. Here one sees men and women who embody in a large way the genius of their nationality or race. They not only hold the mirror up to nature, but unconsciously reflect in their work dominant characteristics, aspirations and emotions peculiar to their people. Genius may and often does rise above nations and races and becomes cosmic in its larger expressions; and yet the odor of the native soil clings to its garments. It is not less because it expresses the life of which it is an integral part and also the larger life which is common to humanity the world over. These thoughts have been impressed upon us time and again after witnessing such typical characters among the masters in dramatic interpretation as the elder Salvini and Sarah Bernhardt. They are instanced as illustrating how the really great artists open up trains of speculative thought quite apart from the drama of the stage.

In Mme. Rejane we have another of the really great dramatic artists who are typical characters. Her life also possesses the added interest for the republican mind which attaches to those children of genius who from lowly birth and humble circumstances have risen to the front ranks in their chosen professions through patient, faithful, conscientious and persistent toil. For Gabrielle Rejane's parents were poor. She was born in the Rue de la Donane, one of the storm-centers for almost every great riot known to the Paris of the past century and a quarter. Her father in early life had been an actor, but before the birth of Gabrielle he had retired from the boards and during her early years he was ticket-receiver and keeper of the buffet at L'Ambigu. In this work the mother assisted, and the little child was pressed into serv-

ice to run errands and afford such other aid as a very small girl could render. Thus environed the child passed her early years, even sleeping on an improvised bed made up in a corner behind the buffet. But this life was not without its fascinations, for here she saw and heard many of the greatest actors and actresses of the day, including Frederick Le Maitre, Paul Cleves, Bondoïs, Melingue, Jane Essler, Adele Page, Dica Petit, Marie-Laurent, and others. Here, too, she listened to the initial presentations of many of the great plays of the day, amid the intoxicating excitement and enthusiasm that attend the opening performances of master-plays before French audiences. Thus she lived in a fairy-like mimic world. The atmosphere of the theater environed her early days as does the morning mist envelop mountain, hill and glen; and this wonder-world of romance and beauty gave to life the intoxication of pure joy as does the mist at dawn lend splendor to the new-born day.

When she was quite young her father died, leaving the mother and child to fight the battle for bread. But both were thrifty, industrious and accustomed to hard work. Sympathizing friends also aided them. Especially were loving hands stretched out to little Gabrielle to aid her in reaching the goal of her ambition—friends who read in the wistful eyes as clearly as if words had framed it, the dearest hope that filled the child's day-dream world. If she could attend the Conservatoire she could fit herself to reach the heights to which even now she aspired. They saw that she was a natural actress; that inheritance and early environment had cast the die for her; and they also knew that besides being ambitious, she did not fear hard work. So they helped her to reach the land of her heart's desire. She became the favorite pupil of the great

master, M. Regnier, and at her graduation won the second prize at the competition. Her talent, personal charm, vivacity and versatility were instantly recognized by the managers of Paris, and offers were promptly made by the Odeon, the Gymnase and the Vaudeville. At the last-named-house she made her debut, in March of 1875, in "*La Revue des Deux Mondes*"; but it was not until six months later that she electrified Paris in a part assigned her in a one-act play written by Marc Monnier and entitled "*Madame Lili*," in the cast of which were a number of famous artists. At that time Sarcey, the most eminent of all Parisian critics, wrote of her:

"The roguishness, ingenuity and tenderness of Mlle. Rejane are charming. That pretty and lively girl has spirit even in her finger-tips. How fortunate that she does n't sing! If she had a voice light opera would surely have devoured her."

From that time Rejane advanced rapidly to the fore-front of her profession. Her remarkable versatility enabled her to interpret the most diverse roles in so convincing a manner as to win, hold and carry her audiences with her. Few actresses in the annals of the stage have scored so many successes or have equally succeeded in the impersonation of a range of characters that represented almost every dominant emotion known to the human heart.

Mme. Rejane in her private life is Mme. Gabrielle Porel, being the wife of M. Porel, well-known in the dramatic life of Paris. The illustrations in this issue are from photographs of Mme. Rejane as seen in life and in some of the roles in which she has achieved great success.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE ELECTORAL WISDOM OF JAPAN.

BY ROBERT TYSON.

IT HAS occurred to me that the old wars of Spain and England, about the time of Queen Elizabeth, furnish an interesting historical parallel with the present war between Russia and Japan. In each case we have a huge despotism unsuccessfully fighting a small maritime power with its face set steadfastly towards constitutional freedom. Since Elizabeth's time England has attained by slow and painful steps the measure of representative government which modern Japan has had the good sense and good fortune to secure almost at a bound. But Japan has done more than this. She has adopted an electoral method which gives her a Parliament more truly representative of the people than the Parliament of England or the Congress of the United States.

Japan's Parliament or "Diet" consists of an upper and a lower House, called respectively the House of Peers and the House of Commons. The Japanese House of Peers corresponds to the House of Lords in England, or the Senate in America—more closely with the former than the latter, because it represents an aristocracy rather than a plutocracy. This article will deal with the House of Commons and the wise principle upon which the election of its members is based. That principle is Proportional Representation.

The essential facts may be stated in a few words. Japan's House of Commons consists of three hundred and seventy-nine members, elected by ballot for four years on a very liberal franchise. There are forty-seven "prefectures" or electoral districts, giving an average of eight members to a district. These electoral districts vary in population, and the number of members elected from each varies accordingly: the smallest number being five, and the largest thirteen, except in the case of the city of Tokyo, which has fifteen

members to represent its million-and-a-half of souls. Like the others, it is one electoral district.

In every district each elector has one vote only. That is the Proportional feature. The very simplicity of the plan stands in the way of a full apprehension of the great political reform which it involves. I shall therefore devote some space to an elucidation of the principle of Proportional Representation, with brief sketches of the more important systems by which that principle is put into operation. There are several such systems, and that used in Japan is the simplest of them all.

The keynote of Proportional Representation is the single vote in large electoral districts. By that I mean that each elector casts only one vote, although in his voting district several members or representatives are elected. Unproportional Representation is for each elector to cast as many votes as there are members to be elected in such a district, or to vote in a single-member district if he has but a single vote. This is a broad statement, and does not quite cover the ground; but it is a sufficient generalization for my present purpose.

Much puzzlement has resulted from multiplicity of systems and complexity of detail. One purpose of this article is to reduce Proportional Representation to its simplest terms, both in principle and methods. Before going further, I will summarize briefly the defects of the systems of voting generally used; because the reader new to the subject will ask why any change is needed. With these defects I present also the expected remedies. My statements here are merely dogmatic, but can be amply verified by argument and experience:

1. Nominations, under the present sys-

tem, are in the hands of the managers of the party machine.

Proportional Representation would place nominations in the hands of the people at large.

2. Gerrymandering pays and is practiced under the present system.

Proportional Representation would make gerrymandering useless.

3. Bribery pays and is practiced under the present system, because a few purchasable voters can turn the scale. Drinking and treating come under the same category.

Proportional Representation would make bribery and treating unpractical.

4. Disfranchisement of nearly half the electors takes place at every general election. An unrepresented minority is created in every district.

Proportional Representation would represent all the voters, a very small percentage of lost votes excepted.

5. The two main parties unjustly monopolize representation. They squeeze out minor parties, and all independent candidates.

Proportional Representation would give minor parties the number of members that their voting strength entitled them to.

6. Reform movements are now blocked and hindered, because their advocates cannot get a voice in Parliament, Legislature, or municipal council.

Under Proportional Representation any reform which was supported by a quota of electors in a few districts would be heard, would be treated with consideration, and would become a political force, if inherently strong and worthy.

7. Party splits are caused by the nomination of independent candidates under the present system.

Proportional Representation, on the full plan, would enable two Democrats to run without the risk of giving a Republican a seat, even although only one Democrat could be elected. Similarly in the converse case.

8. Intense party bitterness is caused by the present system, because elections are

fighths in which the beaten party is disfranchised and humiliated.

Proportional Representation disfranchises nobody. No vote can kill any other vote.

9. Dodging, shuffling, and evasion are prompted by the present system, because every candidate has to appeal to electors holding opinions diverse from his own on various public questions.

Proportional Representation promotes straightforward politics because each candidate appeals only to that group of electors who are in general accord with his views, and he need not truckle to the others.

10. Many good men are excluded under the present system, because the first requisite is to get the candidate who has the best fighting chance of carrying the constituency, and often that does not mean the best representative.

Proportional Representation does away with this necessity, and promotes the election of the best men.

11. The evils of civic and municipal misgovernment have their main cause in a faulty method of election.

Proportional Representation is just as applicable to the township, the village, the town, as to the great city. In each it is the foundation of good government.

The formidable indictment contained in these paragraphs will, I hope, induce, readers unfamiliar with the subject to give it some study.

The above is a rough generalization of the Proportional Method. We need now a generalization of the Proportional Principle, which can best be made by basing it on specific cases. The intelligence of the reader will easily make further applications of the principle. It is this:

In a seven-member district, any one-seventh of the electors must be able to elect one representative.

In a five-member district, any one-fifth of the electors must be able to elect one representative.

In other words, the electors, by the act balloting, must be able to divide themselves into as many groups as there are members to be elected: each group being represented by the one man of its choice, without interference or dictation from the other groups. The individual units of each group may come from any part of the electoral district. The electors are not divided on territorial lines, but on lines of principle and preference. In speaking of a "group," I mean the voters who have in a sense grouped themselves together by voting for the same man.

A member of the South Australian Parliament put the idea very happily when he said: "In Proportional Representation, the voters divide themselves into equal, voluntary, and unanimous electorates."

Let us now see how the proportional method carries out the proportional principles. What enlargement of our rough generalization of method is necessary?

In the first place, the single vote may be either transferable or untransferable. It may either stay where it is put or be subject to transfer from one candidate to another.

The untransferable single vote in a large electoral district is the simplest form of Proportional Representation. This is what Japan uses. In four cases out of five—perhaps in nine cases out of ten—it gives a true proportional result. Here is the reason:

Let fourteen candidates contest the seven seats in a seven-member electoral district on the single-vote plan, without

ballot transfer; and suppose that 35,000 votes are cast. These votes are divided amongst the fourteen candidates, in numbers varying from, say, six hundred, the lowest, up to six thousand, the highest. The voters have divided themselves into fourteen unequal groups, the smallest of which contains six hundred and the largest six thousand. Then the seven highest candidates are declared elected. That is, the seven largest groups are represented; they put their men in; but the seven smaller groups are apparently unrepresented. How can this ever be true Proportional Representation?

For this reason: Experience shows that in most cases the transfers are from the seven smaller groups to the seven larger ones, so that the transfers make no difference. "To him that hath shall be given." If this were always so, we could go on our way rejoicing and advocating nothing but the single untransferable vote in large districts. But it is not always so: hence the need for some system of transfer. Here is where our troubles commence; for, roughly speaking, the different "plans" and "systems" of Proportional Representation are but different ways of transferring votes; whilst the fearful and wonderful complexities that mathematicians have introduced are but endeavors to obtain an absolute mathematical accuracy of transfer, which, if obtained, is not worth the trouble that it entails and the mystery with which, to ordinary minds, it is enwrapped.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

THE PRESIDENT, HIS ATTORNEY-GENERAL AND THE TRUSTS.

BY ALLAN L. BENSON.

IF THERE be one thing more than another over which the Republican party and President Roosevelt pride themselves, it is the attitude of the administration toward the trusts.

Whenever opportunity offers, the President grows eloquent in trying to hammer home the claim that under his administration, "no man is above the law and no man is below it."

He declares in most strenuous language that all laws were made to be obeyed alike by rich and poor; and in his speeches at least, he recognizes his constitutional obligation to "take care that the law shall be faithfully executed."

The trust problem being the concrete expression of the great, over-shadowing question that confronts the nation—the question of whether the corporations shall rule the nation or whether the nation shall rule the corporations—there is no political matter of more vital concern than the *real* attitude of the present administration toward those tremendous aggregations of capital that within the last eight years have changed the face of industry.

We know what the President *says* is his attitude; we know that he says he "draws the line against misconduct, not against wealth." And as the President himself can hardly place any other construction upon "misconduct" when used in this connection, than violation of the law, it becomes of importance to inquire whether he *has* "drawn the line" against corporate violators of the law. But the question of fact is far too important to rest solely upon the testimony even of the President himself; far too important to rest solely upon the testimony of the President and his cabinet ministers, past as well as present. The whole nation should review the record of the administration's official relations

with the great corporate industries of the country and render a verdict of its own. If the facts be as the President and his friends have declared them to be—that the anti-trust laws of the nation have been rigidly and fearlessly enforced—the investigation by the nation will easily bear out their claims. And if the facts be otherwise—if the laws have *not* been enforced—the people ought to know it.

As the first step toward the ascertainment of what are the actual facts in the case, let us consider what are the exact claims of the administration with regard to the extent to which it has enforced the anti-trust laws. The most specific information along this line that has been given out by anyone competent to speak for the administration, was contained in the speech delivered by Elihu Root when he took the chair as the temporary presiding officer of the Republican national convention. After declaring that "The Attorney-General (Mr. Knox) has gone on in the same practical way, not to talk about the trusts, but to proceed against the trusts by law for their regulation," Mr. Root made these definite statements of fact with regard to what the Roosevelt administration has actually done toward enforcing the anti-trust laws:

"In separate suits, fourteen of the great railroads of the country have been restrained by injunction from giving illegal rebates to the favored shippers, who by means of them, were driving out the smaller shippers and monopolizing the grain and meat business of the country. The beef-trust was put under injunction. The officers of the railroads engaged in the cotton-carrying pool, affecting all of that great industry of the South, were indicted and have abandoned their combination.

The Northern Securities Company, which undertook by combining in one ownership the capital stocks of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroads to end traffic competition in the northwest, has been destroyed by a vigorous prosecution. . . . It is certain that *wherever the constitutional power of the national government reaches*, trusts are being practically regulated and curbed within lawful bounds."

Mr. Root's summary of what the administration has done in this direction may therefore be assumed to comprise all of the specific instances in which the administration claims to have enforced the anti-trust laws, since if there had been other instances he doubtless would have mentioned them. And the importance attached by the President to these specific instances of law enforcement is indicated by the following extract from the letter written to Attorney-General Knox in accepting his resignation from the cabinet:

"Many great and able men have preceded you in the office you hold; *but there were none among them whose administration left so deep a mark for good upon the country's development.* Under you it has been literally true that *the mightiest and the humblest in the land have alike had it brought home to them that they were sure of the law's protection while they did right, and that neither could hope to defy the law.*"

On other occasions, President Roosevelt has frequently spoken of "that great man, Attorney-General Knox," and when Mr. Knox resigned from the cabinet, Mr. Roosevelt was quoted as saying that he "doubted if he could find in the whole country his equal as an Attorney-General."

Here, then, we have the administration's case with regard to the enforcement of the anti-trust laws, as given in detail by Elihu Root, Mr. Roosevelt's former Secretary of War, and summarized in the President's glowing tribute to Attorney-General Knox. But the President and Mr. Root,

however, appear to have omitted a few important facts in stating their case.

Is it not a fact that all of these suits against the trusts were begun in the *early* days of Mr. Roosevelt's presidency?

Is it not a fact that when they were begun, Mr. Roosevelt was regarded by Wall street as a very "unsafe" man?

Is it not a fact that since Mr. Roosevelt actively began his campaign to succeed himself in the Presidency that he has not directed his Attorney-General to proceed against *any* trust, great or small?

Is it not a fact that since Mr. Roosevelt has ceased the ordering of suits against trusts that Wall street no longer regards him as "unsafe"?

Is it not a fact that although five months have elapsed since the Supreme Court of the United States absolutely upheld the constitutionality of the Sherman anti-trust law in every particular, that President Roosevelt has made no move to invoke it against any of the notorious corporate offenders?

Is it not a fact that Attorney-General Knox never used but \$25,000 of the \$500,000 appropriated by Congress two years ago, at the President's request, with which to defray the expenses of extra counsel to assist the Attorney-General in enforcing the anti-trust laws?

Is it not a fact that if enough special counsel had been employed to enable Knox to break up the coal-trust, the beef-trust, the oil-trust, the steel-trust and the sugar-trust, to say nothing of scores of other trusts, that the \$500,000 appropriation would have been *exhausted*?

Is it not a fact that President Roosevelt never ordered the beginning of a suit against *any* of these trusts except the beef-trust, and that *all* of them are in operation to-day in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law which declares any "conspiracy in restraint of trade" to be illegal and the conspirators guilty of an offence punishable by imprisonment for one year, a fine not exceeding \$5,000 or both, such fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the court?

Is it not a fact that instead of exhausting this \$500,000 appropriation for which Mr. Roosevelt asked in the early days of his Presidency, that in his last annual message to Congress he asked—and Congress subsequently granted—permission to use it in the prosecution of the postal thieves?

And is it not a fact that although Mr. Roosevelt is now completing the third year of his Presidency, he has never ordered the bringing of a suit under the Sherman anti-trust law against any of the colossal trusts that are engaged in exploiting the people in the prices of the necessities of life—the coal-trust, the beef-trust, and the oil-trust, for instance?

These are *all* facts, and of their truth none knows better than the President. None knows better than the President of the utter hollowness of Mr. Root's boast to the Republican national convention that the "beef-trust has been put under injunction." It is quite true that the beef-trust has been put under injunction. But it is equally true that the beef-trust pays no attention to the injunction and continues its exploitation of the public by depressing the price of live-stock, thus robbing the farmers, while it increases the price of dressed beef thus robbing the consumers. And it is also true that the beef-trust, "under injunction" as it is, continues this exploitation notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Justice Harlan, in reading the majority decision confirming the constitutionality of the Sherman anti-trust law, said:

"We deem it sufficient to say that certain deductions may be drawn from these decisions. *Every contract, combination or conspiracy which operates in restraint of trade is unlawful, whether it be an unreasonable or a reasonable restraint.* There is no distinction. . . . It need not be shown that the combination resulted in a total suppression of trade; it is unlawful if it *tends to create a monopoly or restrain trade.* Such tendency *alone* is against the law."

Yet the beef-trust, "under injunction,"

continues to rob the farmers, the prices of whose live-stock it depresses, *continues* to rob the people by arbitrarily increasing the price of dressed beef, notwithstanding the Sherman law and all of the fine words of the highest court in the land in sustaining it. And it did so all during the term of office of "that great man, Attorney-General Knox," "the greatest Attorney-General that the United States ever had."

But Mr. Knox broke up the cotton-carrying pool of the southern railroads, so Mr. Root tells us. The cotton-carrying pool of the southern railroads was doubtless an iniquitous conception that deserved destruction, and for destroying it Mr. Knox is entitled to the credit of having performed his duty. But who besides Mr. Knox would ever have received such unstinted praise from Elihu Root for laying aside great tasks to perform small ones? Who besides Mr. Knox would ever have been praised for killing a mosquito when elephants were trumpeting in the front yard, trampling down the shrubbery and threatening to break in the windows? One might suspect from the pride with which Mr. Root recounted the destruction of the devilish cotton-carrying pool by the intrepid Mr. Knox, that the cotton-carrying pool was the most piratical and burdensome trust in the country. The fact is, that it was one of the smallest and, in point of the extent of its depredations, one of the least offensive. Yet at the moment when Mr. Knox was slapping the cotton-pool mosquito, there were elephantine corporations by the score in the national front-yard. And of these, the coal-trust was the most rapacious, one of the most stupendous, and, of all, the meanest.

Think of Attorney-General Knox fighting the cotton-carrying pool when more than sixteen million families were paying an average of seven dollars a ton for the five tons of anthracite that each annually consumes!

Think of sixteen million families paying seven dollars a ton for eighty million tons of anthracite, when Thomas P. Fowler,

formerly president of the New York, Ontario and Western Railroad, testified before the New York State railroad Commission on March 14, 1900, that "without some restriction, stove-coal would be a drug at two dollars a ton!"

Think of sixteen million families annually paying \$560,000,000 for coal that "without restriction"—*without the coal-trust*—"would be a drug" at \$240,000,000 figuring the coal at two dollars a ton and one dollar a ton for shipping to any point within two hundred miles of the mines, which is probably a higher rate than could be maintained if there were no "agreement" among the railroads!

Think of sixteen million families being annually robbed of \$320,000,000 in the price of the anthracite they consume—and "that great man, Attorney-General Knox," "the greatest Attorney-General that the United States ever had," mercilessly pursuing the cotton-pool mosquito!

Is the annual robbery of \$320,000,000 from the people by one unlawful trust a matter of so little importance that the President does not think it worth while to try to stop it? It would seem so, since the President has neither attempted to invoke the aid of the Sherman law against the coal-trust nor asked Congress to provide a better law, the need of which is not apparent in view of the Supreme Court's recent decision in the Northern Securities case.

But there is still another method of determining the exact rating to which the Roosevelt administration is entitled for its enforcement of the anti-trust laws. In order to "stand 100" as the school-teachers say, it would have been necessary, strictly speaking, for the administration to have brought suit against every trust in the country, or at least to have begun proceedings against as many trusts as the Attorney-General and his \$500,000 worth of special counsel could handle. On the other hand, the greatest possible failure that Mr. Roosevelt could have made in the execution of the anti-trust

laws would have been not to have enforced them against any corporation.

With success and failure thus defined, let us see which is most nearly approximated by Mr. Roosevelt and his administration. According to John Moody, author of *The Truth About the Trusts*, and an acknowledged authority upon the subject, there were in this country last March, four hundred and forty great trusts, with a total floating capital of \$20,379,102,511.

There are ten industrial-trusts with a capitalization of \$100,000,000 or over; thirty of \$50,000,000 or over, and one hundred and twenty-nine of \$10,000,000 or over.

There are eleven great franchise-trusts, the capitalization of each of which exceeds \$100,000,000, with twenty-three having more than \$50,000,000 each, and ninety-five more than \$5,000,000 each.

And in addition, Mr. Moody says there are six great railway-groups, comprising as many trusts, the capital of each of which exceeds a billion dollars.

Now, if the President had failed to prosecute one of these corporations, he would have achieved the greatest possible extent of failure. And if he had not prosecuted a single trust, the press and people would now be talking of him as a failure instead of heralding him as the great "trust-buster" of the age, as part of the press and the people are now heralding him.

And to determine just where Mr. Roosevelt and his administration are entitled to stand between the extremes of success and failure, it is necessary only to review the administration's record with regard to the enforcement of the anti-trust laws.

What has Mr. Roosevelt accomplished? Let us take Mr. Root's word for it without question:

1. Through his former able Attorney-General, he has destroyed the cotton-carrying pool among the southern railroads.
2. He has put the beef-trust "under in-

junction"—without damaging the beef-trust, evidently.

3. He has begun "fourteen separate suits" against railroads. John Moody, however, found six billion-dollar railroad-trusts last March that had escaped the eagle-eye of Mr. Roosevelt and his "great" Attorney-General.

4. He has destroyed the \$400,000,000 Northern Securities Company—a performance that has not been repeated in the case of any other great trust.

And that is all.

All told, the suits that the President ordered started in the earlier days of his presidency may have resulted in the destruction of trusts the combined capitalization of which may have been a billion dollars.

Counting each of the twenty billions of trust capital outside of the law as five "points" in order to make a possible "100" for perfect enforcement of the anti-trust laws, it appears that the "standing" of the Roosevelt administration is 5.

In other words, the Roosevelt administration has enforced the law against one-twentieth of the capital that is organized in violation of the law that the Supreme Court has sustained, and failed to enforce it against the other nineteen-twentieths. The one-twentieth of the trust capitalization that Roosevelt suppressed did not include one great trust that was engaged on a gigantic scale in exploiting all of the people. The nineteen-twentieths of trust capitalization that the President has *not* suppressed, or, with one exception, ever *tried* to suppress, includes all of the great unlawful corporations that are engaged on a gigantic scale in exploiting all of the people. To be more specific, the list of unsuppressed trusts includes the coal-trust, the beef-trust, the oil-trust, the steel-trust, and the sugar-trust, to say nothing of the scores of other great trusts that Mr. Moody, the authority on trusts, found to be so active last spring when his book was published.

Having reviewed not only the adminis-

tration claims but the *facts* about the trust question, it becomes of importance to make a comparison of these claims with the conditions that are known really to exist.

Elihu Root said:

"It is certain that wherever the constitutional power of the government reaches, trusts are being practically regulated and curbed within lawful bounds."

Waiving, for the time, all consideration of the question as to whether the Sherman anti-trust law reaches as far as the Supreme Court says it does, it seems proper to inquire why the administration has not asked for more laws, if the present laws are equal only to the suppression of one-twentieth of the capital unlawfully organized in the form of trusts?

In his annual message to Congress two years ago, Mr. Roosevelt asked for more anti-trust laws and Congress gave him all for which he asked, the publicity feature of the Department of Commerce and Labor act; the act to expedite hearings before the Supreme Court, and the Elkins Anti-rebate law.

If existing statutes are insufficient to accomplish the destruction of the coal-trust that is robbing the people of \$320,000,000 a year; of the beef-trust which is simultaneously plundering the farmers and the consumers of dressed-beef of still more millions; of the steel-trust which charges top prices at home and sells its products for much less abroad; of the six billion-dollar railway combinations that Mr. Moody found to be in existence; of the oil-trust and a host of other trusts—if existing laws are insufficient to accomplish the destruction of these trusts, why has President Roosevelt failed to ask for the enactment of laws that *would* permit of the destruction of these trusts?

Is it because the President believes the annual \$320,000,000 robbery of the coal-trust does not in itself constitute a wrong so tremendous that it deserves the best efforts of any President to abate?

Is it because he does not consider the depredations of the beef-trust, the oil-trust, the steel-trust and others of sufficient consequence to demand the attention of one of his exalted station?

Or is it because the President knows he already has enough law to crush every criminal trust in the country if he cared to enforce it?

Surely there must be *some* reason for the failure of the President either to prosecute the coal and other trusts under existing laws, or to ask for new laws.

And it cannot be because the President does not know that of right, these trusts ought to be crushed.

Consider next the extract quoted from the letter in which Mr. Roosevelt accepted the resignation of Attorney-General Knox—the letter in which Mr. Roosevelt told Mr. Knox that he was “the greatest Attorney-General that the United States had ever had.” In this letter, Mr. Roosevelt said:

“Under you it has been literally true that the mightiest and the humblest in the land have alike had it brought home to them that they were sure of the law’s protection while they did right and that neither could hope to defy the law.”

Let us consider these statements.

Is the coal-trust “sure of the law’s protection” because it is “doing right”?

Is that why the steel-trust, the sugar-trust, the oil-trust, the six billion-dollar railroad-trusts and scores of other tremendous corporations are immune from punishment under the Roosevelt administration—*because they are doing right*?

And if all of these untouched trusts, constituting as they do nineteen-twentieths of all the trust capital in the country, are “doing right,” what, in the name of all that is good and lawful in industry, could be *wrong*, and why did the President ever order the bringing of a suit against *any* trust?

Was the Northern Securities Company worse than the coal-trust?

Was the dreadful cotton-pool worse than the oil-trust, the sugar-trust or the steel-trust?

And if the man who proceeded against only one-twentieth of the trust capital, granting immunity to all of the most burdensome trusts in the country, was “the greatest Attorney-General that the United States ever had,” *what kind of an Attorney-General would the President call a poor one?*

Also, if Attorney-General Knox was such a terror to trusts as the President would have the nation believe, why was it that when Mr. Frick, Mr. Cassatt and other gentlemen representing the trusts announced the candidacy of Mr. Knox for the seat in the United States Senate made vacant by the death of Mr. Quay, that all other candidacies melted away in an instant and Governor Pennypacker appointed Mr. Knox Senator within forty-eight hours?

Are the trusts engaged in “heaping coals of fire” upon the heads of those who prosecute them, or are they simply promoting those who serve them?

It would be idle, however, to blame Mr. Knox for what he did not do while Attorney-General toward enforcing the laws against the trusts.

Mr. Knox was a subordinate in the administration and if he had been ordered to start on the coal-trust and carry the warfare all down the line, he would have done so or have been compelled to hand in his resignation. And the same power that caused Mr. Knox to remain inactive for the most part so far as enforcing the anti-trust laws was concerned, will cause his successor to let the anti-trust laws lie dead-letters on the statute-books.

The responsibility for the non-enforcement of the anti-trust laws against any of the tremendous corporations that annually are plundering the people of hundreds of millions in the prices of the necessities of life, must rest with Theodore Roosevelt alone.

He is the man to whom the nation should look.

He went into office knowing what the laws were and who were their violators.

He started to enforce the law and the Supreme Court told him the law was good—that any conspiracy that even *tended* to restrain trade was unlawful.

But Mr. Roosevelt had stopped bringing suits against the trusts before the decision came and he has brought no suits since.

But his "great" Attorney-General has been given a seat in the United States Senate, through the kindness of several eminent gentlemen connected with trusts; and the coal-trust is preparing to take another \$320,000,000 out of the people next winter.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

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THE POEMS OF EMERSON.

URIEL.

BY CHARLES MALLOY,

President of the Boston Emerson Society.

"URIEL" in Hebrew signifies "God's fire." It occurs in the second book of *Esdras*. Milton says of Uriel, he was the "sharpest-sighted of all in Heaven." Uriel was therefore a fit name for Emerson himself. In the Poets' Corner of the new library at Washington is a picture of Uriel, turning with a proud, scornful look as he goes out from the presence of the old gods. Upon this picture is written the name of Emerson. He has thus a national recognition as his own "Uriel."

Inasmuch as the poem celebrates what purports to be an event in history, it is called the "lapse of Uriel." "Lapse" instead of "fall" is to avoid repetition.

"It fell in the ancient periods
Which the brooding soul surveys,
Or ever the wild Time coined itself
Into calendar months and days."

"Once, among the Pleiades walking,
Seyd overheard the young gods talking;
And the treason, too long pent,
To his ears was evident.
The young deities discussed
Laws of form and metre just,
Orb, quintessence, and sunbeams,
What subsisteth and what seems.

One, with low tones that decide,
And doubt and reverend use defied,
With a look that solved the sphere,
And stirred the devils everywhere,
Gave his sentiment divine
Against the being of a line.
'Line in nature is not found;
Unit and universe are round;
In vain produced, all rays return;
Evil will bless, and ice will burn.'"

This poem is allegory throughout. The value of Uriel's sentiment divine lay in the analogy that there are no lines in morals.

Evil will not go on as evil forever, but turns to good. The stern old gods had a vast property in the form of hells which they could only run by evil. Besides, Uriel was a young god and had not consulted them. New things in religion and philosophy come generally by young gods. The old do not change.

What was the effect of Uriel's words in this convention in Paradise?

"As Uriel spoke with piercing eye,
A shudder ran around the sky;
The stern old war-gods shook their heads,
The seraphs frowned from myrtle-beds;
Seemed to the holy festival
The rash word boded ill to all;

The balance-beam of Fate was bent;
The bounds of good and ill were rent;
Strong Hades could not keep his own,
But all slid to confusion."

"Line in nature is not found."

This is true. No perfect line can be found in the objective world; and as John Mill said, our geometrical ideals come empirically, or from the senses, and the originals are not perfect. Therefore we have no true basis for our geometry. 'T is a matter of observation, and upon uncertain data. Mill's error is said to be in his assumption that geometry rests upon empirical or observed facts. The correction is in the transcendental doctrine of Kant, that geometry is in the mind, just as astronomy is in the mind. Unit and universe are in the mind. They, too, are not round by observation; they are round only as the mind makes them so.

"Line in nature is not found."

The value of Uriel's "sentiment" is as a fact in morals. As we have said, Evil is not produced. It does not go off forever in a line, but comes round to good. This is where Emerson stirred up the placid waters among his contemporaries. The theological systems were all constructed of lines. "As the tree falleth, so it must lie."

"The balance-beam of Fate was bent."

This doctrine of lines in philosophy and religion had the certificate and endorsement of Fate. Fate was superior to the gods. Certainly the balance-beam of Fate should be made of good iron, for it was the instrument by which all other things are tested. Well might all things slide into confusion.

"The bounds of good and ill were rent,"

as a consequence. Emerson says in the "Essay on Experience": "Sin, seen by the intellect, is pravity or less. It is only the conscience that sees it as evil. It has

no essential existence, and so it will not last." He says: "If evil remained at last, in the words of an Eastern poet, 'the blue sky would shrivel to a snake-skin and cast it out.'"

Evil is a concept or a general name for an apparent quality in events as they affect us, but not a quality in things. Chemistry knows no element which is evil in all its relations. On the contrary, it is finding a good use for assumedly bad things. Darwin tells us of the great use of earth-worms in making our soils. Volcanoes enrich the whole country around them. What a benefactor for all our part of the continent was the ice which covered it for many thousands of years! It was fortunate that much of our dry land was a long time under the sea; thus infinitesimal benefactors gave us limestone. Somebody called the other day for fifty thousand stings of bees, the poison having a therapeutic virtue in rheumatism; and there is now in Europe a demand for the virus of our rattlesnakes, which is a remedy in certain nervous affections. No doubt it would be unwise to "kill the devil." Science will find a good use for him. What a servant has lightning become, formerly an agent only for mischief; and Jove was not allowed free use of it.

"Strong Hades could not keep his own."

This awful power, like the "balance-beam of Fate" and the "bounds of good and ill," was something never known to fail before. "The stern old war-gods" could rely upon these things. "Strong Hades," like the "balance-beam of Fate," was sure and trustworthy. Dante had found the gloomy legend upon the door: "Who enters here, let him leave hope behind." But the convulsions upon Uriel's low tones and look that "solved the sphere and stirred the devils everywhere," and the hells everywhere, had shattered "strong Hades" and Dante's door, and the unhappy prisoners have a chance to escape. That was a sad spectacle to the stern old gods.

Who were the stern old gods in this new mythology? Who but the good ministers of Cambridge and Boston? And who were the seraphs in myrtle-beds but pious women, old and young, leading easy, luxurious lives as they were wafted to the skies on "flowery beds of ease," escorted by the "stern old war-gods"?

"The stern old war-gods shook their heads,
The seraphs frowned from myrtle-beds,"

out of sympathy. But many of the seraphs, charmed by the beauty, grace and eloquence of the Uriel, afterwards became his followers. George Gillfillian, a Scotch clergyman, says of him: "When he goes into Boston to lecture he is crowded after by the *élite* of the city. He stands up, a middle-aged enthusiast, beginning slowly, and as he goes on his face becomes phosphorescent, like the face of an angel."

This line—

"Strong Hades could not keep his own"—

will require a few words more. Uriel is a type of the radical, the transcendentalist—the first to see, and so before his time. Uriel would therefore stand for the correlative, abstract radicalism. This at the time appeared in many forms. In March, 1844, Emerson gave a lecture in Boston on "New England Reformers," in which he says:

"Whoever has had opportunity of acquaintance with society in New England during the last twenty-five years, with those middle and with those leading sections that may constitute any just representation of the character and aim of the community, will have been struck with the great activity of thought and experimenting. His attention must be commanded by the signs that the church, or religious party, is falling from the church nominal, and is appearing in temperance and non-resistance societies, in movements of abolitionists and of socialists, and in very significant assemblies called Sabbath and Bible-Conventions, composed of ultraists, of seekers, of all the soul of the soldiery of

dissent, and meeting to call in question the authority of the Sabbath, of the priesthood and of the church. In these movements nothing was more obvious than the discontent they begat in the movers. The spirit of protest and detachment drove the members of these conventions to bear testimony against the church, and immediately afterward to declare their discontent with these conventions, their colleagues, and their impatience of the methods whereby they were working. They defied each other like a congress of kings, each of whom had a realm to rule and a way of his own that made concert unprofitable. What a fertility of projects for the salvation of the world."

A very significant movement in the history of the church began just before this time, which was soon widely known as "Universalism." The Protestant half of the church had long taught that all were lost in Adam's sin, and a very few saved by the death of Christ; only a very few, the conditions not being accepted. I heard a respectable minister in my city of Waltham say in a public meeting called in the interest of the Christian Association and well attended, that he had given a good deal of thought as to the proportion which would be saved by the gospel of Christ, and he could not see a chance for more than five out of a hundred. This after eighteen hundred years of that gospel which had presumably been increasing its power and field of operation all this time. So for the whole time of the trial he could, perhaps, make out not more than one out of a hundred. Nobody, I have reason to believe, took exception to this discouraging prospect. It came pretty near an estimate that all are lost.

This Universalism proclaimed the astounding counter doctrine that all are found. This innovation and movement was well-known to Emerson, and he had seen its rise and progress. The fighting days of this heresy were over long ago, and Universalism had become quite a conservative when transcendentalism arose here

in New England. Universalism was introduced, I believe, by two or three learned and able preachers from Scotland. Dr. Lyman Beecher was then pastor of a Boston church and was an able champion of sound orthodox views. A public discussion was somehow brought about upon this new doctrine, in which Mr. Beecher took a leading part. Now a specialist has always the advantage of familiarity with his own texts and material, and Mr. Beecher, being hard pressed in the argument, made a dash by saying: "Well, my Bible says 'The wicked shall be turned into hell and all the nations that forget God.' Get them out again if you can." But the other replied: "I have the same Bible as Brother Beecher, and my Bible says 'Death and hell shall give up their dead.' Get them in again if you can."

Dr. Quint was an able man and one of the pillars of the orthodox denomination in New England. He made it in his way, while spending a summer with his father, who lived four miles away, to supply a vacant pulpit in the church where I resided. Being a little early one Sunday morning, he came into my house. He was fond of a good story, as ministers often are, and we fell to talking upon this departure called Universalism.

"When it first came about," said he, "a good honest deacon, but a little dull, came into his prayer-meeting one evening with a great burden upon his mind. In the beginning of the meeting he said: 'They have got a new-fangled salvation round here. They have got an idea that everybody is going to be saved—everybody, the converted and the unconverted. Everybody, everybody! But, brothers and sisters, we hope for better things!'"

The good Doctor did not lay the matter to heart—the danger and lost condition of the sinner—as Calvin or Whitfield or Jonathan Edwards would have done. He had the complaint very lightly. He had been vaccinated by the Universalists. It was only a mild case of varicellous. He was losing confidence in Hades; and there are but very few, and those

among the more simple and illiterate, who now use Hades as a working theory. This change has come about largely since 1830. Theodore Parker told me that he once attended a meeting of ministers in Boston where the question was debated: "Is Ralph Waldo Emerson a Christian?" Father Taylor had great love for Emerson; but he said that by the creed of his church and as he read the Scriptures he could not make him out, technically, to be a Christian. He did not see how he could be saved. He hated to think that he would go down to hell. "The dear, sweet soul," he said, "I do n't see what the devil can ever do with him. The chance is that he'll convert the devil."

Emerson told me of Father Taylor. He had great admiration for him. He said: "You ought to hear him pray. His prayers are poems." If a man could pray in poems, Emerson would not care what his creed was.

People used to think religion was very dependent on Hades, and that revivals could not be supported without it. They have made the discovery in fifty years that they are not well supported, even with it,—that thousands upon thousands are pretty good Christians who have thrown that barbarous instrument away. I never heard of the new doctrine until I was fifteen years old. At first it shocked me as atheism. I once heard an old church-member say: "If I did n't believe in hell after death, I'd steal." Certainly he needed it a little longer. But perhaps he was not so bad as he thought he was. So much for the line,—

"Strong Hades could not keep his own."

Hades was sometimes used as a person; hence "his own."

This convention took place in Paradise, it seems, and Paradise was among the Pleiades. It was really Cambridge. It was before "wild Time" had "coined itself into calendar months and days,"—that is, before the creation of the earth, the sun, and the moon, but was only ten years

before Seyd, the poet, was there. Where did he come from? Are there poets amid the Pleiades? But Seyd was the Imagination, which is not amenable to the laws of time and space; and to the Imagination before and after, and here and there, are the same.

"There is no great and no small
To the soul that maketh all;
And where it cometh all things are,
And it cometh everywhere."

"A sad self-knowledge, withering, fell
On the beauty of Uriel."

It is a thought often repeated by Emerson, that too much self-consciousness is unfriendly both to beauty and to manners. He was very bashful when young. It was one of his great trials when he kept a school for girls in Boston—his sensitive, tell-tale face. Elizabeth Peabody told us one day at the School of Philosophy about this infirmity of Emerson's. She said he undertook to give her lessons in Greek, but in a little while he was so uncomfortable that he gave it up, saying: "You know as much Greek as I do."

"In heaven once eminent, the god
Withdrew, that hour, into his cloud;
Whether doomed to long gyration
In the sea of generation,
Or by knowledge grown too bright
To hit the nerve of feeble sight.
Straightway, a forgetting wind
Stole over the celestial kind,
And their lips the secret kept,
If in ashes the fire-seed slept."

We doubt if Emerson held the old doctrine of transmigration of souls, save as a poetical fiction, the same as Paradise, heaven, God, cloud, and other terms.

" . . . By knowledge grown too bright
To hit the nerve of feeble sight,"

would well describe a man who was before his time, as Emerson was for long years in his prose writings and even now in his poems. But few of his poems are well read after sixty years. Neither of his

good friends, Carlyle or Theodore Parker, read his poems. The "forgetting wind" that stole over the "celestial kind" reveals a sad suspicion, that many, many men who must bind themselves to creeds are trusting to a "forgetting wind," leaving out what they do not believe. I thought a little of the ministry when a young man, but could not believe the doctrines of my church. I asked the help and advice of a young minister of excellent character, who did not seem to have any scruples, stating my own. He said: "I had the same doubts as you. I drove them out of my mind; I refused to think of them." That seemed to do for him. I could not make it do for me. He found shelter in a "forgetting wind," like the "celestial kind" in our poem. It is a tragedy more sad than we know, perhaps,—the hundreds of preachers who must preach what they do not believe, because subscription to a Creed is exacted of them. Emerson quotes the words: "There is persuasion in soul, but necessity in intellect." I do not know the author of these words. I suppose "soul" may mean feeling, which persuades us often; but when the intellect says a thing, we must believe. Of course I can do nothing with the doctrine of a "will to believe."

Emerson gave up one of the finest pulpits in America for what his contemporaries thought a trifle. But to keep it did not seem honest, and that was no trifle.

The Divinity-School Address, I need not say, was where Uriel offended the stern old gods. In writing to Carlyle he called the convulsion that ensued a "tempest in a wash-bowl." He told Carlyle that he was glad he had not accepted his repeated invitations to come to America, lest he should share his parish troubles. The uneasiness of the people he attributed to "inaction of mind."

A very worthy Doctor of Divinity gives me this illustration. He said: "We had a meeting of ministers to talk over matters of faith and doctrine. The younger ones among us were very certain in their beliefs and definitions. They had them

fresh from the schools and the professors. A venerable old scholar had nothing to offer. When we were going out I said to him: 'Doctor, you had nothing to say.'

"'No,' said he, 'I had not. But,' he added, 'I know more things that are not so, than any of them.'"

And that is progress: to find out the things that are not so.

Emerson says: "I am a seeker with no past at my back." He did not feel bound to say a thing to-day because he said it yesterday.

"But now and then truth-speaking things
Shamed the angels' veiling wings;
And, shrilling from the solar course,
Or from fruit of chemic force,
Procession of a soul in matter,
Or the speeding change of water,
Or out of the good of evil born,
Came Uriel's voice of cherub scorn,
And a blush tinged the upper sky,
And the gods shook, they knew not why."

Scientists do not make false pretences. They are surrounded by "truth-speaking things."

"Angels' veiling wings" is often the phrase of an old, out-worn vocabulary which was once thought to contain angels, but the angels are gone out of it, and the wings are falsely used to cover platitudes and sometimes falsehoods.

In several of these last lines we have circles, as "shrilling from the solar course." Always a coming round. "Fruit of chemic force,"—a circle again.

"Procession of a soul in matter."

This requires a larger view than we can give it here. It will lead us to such expressions in the "Essay on Nature" as:

"The world was once a thought and will turn to a thought again, as ice becomes water and gas."

"Or the speeding change of water,"—
a familiar exemplar.

"Or out of the good of evil born."

History is full of illustrations: The persecutions which drove our Puritan fathers from their homes gave a superior civilization to New England, and by that to all America. Before this the invasions of England by half-savage northern tribes, and then by the Norman conquerors, gave a new and better race at last. The hordes which destroyed Rome carried Rome home with them into barbarism and made a great and progressive people. Germany in our day has whipped France into good behavior, and she has done talking of revenge and glory. The ill-treatment of Cuba by Spain has made Cuba free, with American ideals; and already she may thank Spain for the evil she inflicted. What but slavery put ten millions of colored men well on the road to progress? Booker Washington says of it: "We were pagans; we now have the Christian religion. We were without language; we have our glorious Anglo-Saxon speech. We were without arts or society; we are now well on in the finest civilization of the globe."

Let us rejoice that we no longer think of God as a builder of hells for the children of His own creation. Well says an Eastern poet: "If there were real evil in the Cosmos, the blue sky would shrivel itself to a snake-skin and cast it out with spasms."

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CHURCH AND STAGE AFTER FIVE YEARS.

BY REV. GEORGE WOLFE SHINN, D.D.,

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WHEN an organization gets to be five years old that very fact shows its possession of vitality enough to last still longer. Many societies come into existence and fade away before they complete the five years' period. Some of them struggle through one or two or three years. Only a small proportion have in them the elements of longer life. People get tired. Enthusiasm cools. Methods are found to be defective. Leading spirits drop out. Then comes the decline of the organization, and later on it dies.

So it is to the credit of The Actors' Church Alliance that it has been going on these last five years with ever-increasing interest and with a steadily-enlarging membership-list. It has demonstrated its ability to live and it has also shown that the good work already done is the promise and the prophecy of a much larger work of which it will be capable as it grows older and stronger.

It has taken considerable time and trouble for the Alliance to get people to understand what is it as well as what it is not. There have been many erroneous notions concerning it. Church people and Stage people alike have misapprehended its purposes and its capabilities. Even now it has to meet prejudice and suspicion and active hostility. Many church people will have nothing whatever to do with the Theater because they believe its influence to be altogether degrading. Many Stage people will have nothing to do with the Church because they think its members narrow and harsh. And so on both sides they condemn the Alliance as attempting an undesirable task. "We want nothing to do with a corrupt institution that panders to low and vicious tastes," say some Church people. "And we do not find your Church-folk very genial and attractive," retort some of the Stage people.

Then they unite in belaboring the Alliance which tried to bring them together in sympathetic relations.

It is not at all surprising that the work of the Alliance has been discredited by people who make no distinction between the clean theater and its opposite and between the clean play and its opposite. *The Alliance upholds such a distinction and does not ask any one to favor exhibitions that are vicious and degrading.* While it says to Church people: "We do not encourage your going to any Theater where anything is said or done that is low or impure," it also says to the members of the dramatic calling: "We do not want you to regard all Church people as narrow and unsympathetic, for ever-growing numbers of them are learning that your calling is an honorable one in itself and that in that calling you can make good use of yourself and your powers for the benefit of society." The Alliance also adds: "We think of you as men and women who have religious natures as others have, and who stand in need of help for the growth of your religious life as others do. We regard the Church as yours. Some of you are already members of it by your Baptism, and all of you may be benefited by what the Church has to offer you."

If this Alliance started out with indiscriminate commendation of all the existing exhibitions which are found upon the stage, if it did not draw the line sharply between what is wholesome and what is injurious it would not be worthy of the sympathy and support of people who have the best interests of society at heart. *The theory which the Alliance adopts is that anything which is harmful to public morals should not find a place on the Stage, just as anything that is contrary to the tender, merciful, loving spirit of the Mas-*

ter should not find a place in the Church or in the conduct of Church people.

We must not think of the Alliance as organized simply to correct abuses which are found on the Stage but also to correct the narrowness and the prejudice which have kept the Church, or so many of its members, from recognizing the usefulness of the theater as an institution and which have led to most unbrotherly treatment of members of this calling. The benefits to accrue from this Alliance are not all on one side. The evils to be corrected are not confined to one side. The members of the Church cannot come to the members of the theater and say: "We have always been generous and thoughtful and kindly towards you, and we have helped you to make the best use of your talents." There is no propriety in assuming any patronizing attitude. The relationship has to be that of people who regret the past and who would now unite in making a better future for both.

The Alliance frankly admits that there are low theaters and unclean plays, but it also believes that there need not be either. The character of theaters and of the performances therein depends upon the people who attend them. If the people cease to patronize objectionable plays, that is the end of such plays, for there is nothing so sensitive to public opinion as the theater. Questionable plays are put on the boards because people seem to want them. Whenever disapprobation is shown by the lack of patronage the evil play is withdrawn. *It is part of the mission of the Alliance to improve the popular taste and by encouraging the production of wholesome plays, to gratify the fondness for dramatic representations without injuring the moral sense of those who witness them.* The old plan of condemning all play-acting and putting a stigma upon the theater itself has not worked well in the past. It is surely a better plan to use proper discrimination, to admit that the theater is capable of providing wholesome recreation and useful instruction and to encourage it to do its best.

Now these views which were not held by very many people awhile ago are being approved by an increasing number each year as is shown by the large growth of this Alliance.

The report of the Organizing Secretary, presented at a recent session of the Convention of the Alliance in Boston, is a most interesting document as vindicating the claim that the theater, properly conducted, is a useful agent for the welfare of society and as showing the determination of a large body of people in different parts of our country to recognize its helpfulness and to aid the members of the dramatic calling to fulfill its mission. In that report he speaks of the gradual change of sentiment on the part of many in the Church towards the theater and the growing recognition of the Church's duty towards all sorts and conditions of men. For, whereas for a long time large numbers of Church people have treated actors and actresses as if their very calling shut them out from Christian sympathy, now it is being more and more realized that the Church has a mission to those whose business it is to provide recreation and entertainment for the public.

But a change is taking place also in the views of members of the dramatic calling. Some of them have never recognized that it could become an ethical and educational factor in the lives of men. Some of them would have shrunk from hearing it described as "a serious and dignified profession." They never thought of it in that way. Now, however, an increasing number regard their work as contributing to the welfare of their fellowmen, and their calling as worthy of an honorable place in the agencies which benefit society. It is certainly worth much to spread such views among the twenty-five thousand and more who are members of this calling to-day, and this is what the Alliance is doing. It does not claim that it has yet succeeded in inspiring all these people with high ideals, but it does claim that it has accomplished something by recognizing the possibilities of the stage and by

showing that it has full sympathy with every effort to make the theater helpful.

When the present membership of the Alliance is considered, and when it is realized that here is a body of thoughtful and earnest people who are pledged to the best interests of the communities in which they live we may be sure that the principles which they advocate will have influence. To-day there are twenty-seven organized Chapters of the Alliance in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Portland, Colorado Springs, Chicago, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Toledo, Kansas City, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Reading, Columbus, and elsewhere. In numerous other places where no Chapters have as yet been formed there are persons who have become members of the Alliance. The total membership to date is 3,374. An important part of this membership is composed of the Chaplains. There are now 1,100 ministers of various religious bodies:—Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, Congregationalists, Unitarians, Jews and others—who are appointed for the purpose of looking after the religious interests of the members of the dramatic calling.

It will be seen at once what possibilities for good there are in having men in the large towns and cities who are ready to visit sick members of this profession, to hold religious services for them and to show friendliness and interest in every proper way. One result of the appointment of these Chaplains, which will become more and more evident to the players as time goes on, will be to relieve that terrible feeling of loneliness and friendlessness which so often assails the people of the stage as they go from place to place, knowing no one, and feeling that they are regarded with suspicion even by many of those who come to see them act. Now they are sure of some sympathetic friends whenever they reach a town or city where Chaplains have been appointed, and if they are overtaken by illness or misfortune of any kind there are persons to whom they can appeal.

As the extension of the Alliance work

proceeds the time will come when there will be Chaplains not only in every large town and city, but full organized Chapters of the Alliance, so that the life of the player-folk will not be so lonely and so devoid of sympathy as it has been.

One of the incidental results of the Alliance work the past five years has been to acquaint many people with some of the trying features of the calling and to bring to notice some of the conditions which they did not know belonged to it. Some theater-goers who go occasionally to witness plays and many young people who have no knowledge of the facts have thought it an easy, well-paid occupation. On the contrary, it is poorly paid except in the case of those who rise to distinction, and it has hardships which are sometimes almost intolerable. It would almost effectually quench the desire of some to go upon the stage if they could realize what a toilsome, uncertain, disappointing life it has been to many. In fact it does not offer to the average performer the ease or emolument which may be found in almost any other occupation, and it should not be entered by any one unless there is, in addition to positive ability, a willingness to put up with a great deal that is hard and trying.

Passing over what would make a long list of the hardships of the player there is one that has loomed up of late into frightful prominence, and that is the *Sunday Performance*. Under existing conditions an actor may be obliged to play seven evenings a week, and in some places seven afternoons beside. One of these overworked players recently reported that he had performed twice a day for twenty continuous weeks. No one, unless he has gone through the strain, can realize what it means to have no weekly rest-period. It is more than physical and mental fatigue. It comes to be almost thorough disgust with everything. Actors all over the country are crying out for relief from this intolerable burden, but although the laws of most states forbid theatrical performances on Sundays the laws are evad-

ed or broken and the theaters are open.

The Alliance has put itself squarely against all Sunday performances, but the thoughtlessness or the eager rush for amusement on the part of so many people and the greed of managers combine to compel the actor to yield to the demand. *The most pathetic as well as the most reasonable appeal that is made to-day comes from the dramatic fraternity to all thoughtful people to relieve them of this burden of Sunday work.* The actor needs a weekly period of rest and, as one of their own number recently said: "it is not only burdensome to him not to have it, but it is a degradation to go on in this way."

All of this is said without giving any consideration now to the question of preserving the sanctity of the Lord's day. Very much might be added upon that point, but here we have a calling where the most thoughtful and intelligent of them beg the community not to demand Sunday work of them because it unfits them to do their best at other times. Perhaps many patrons of the Sunday theater have never realized what such performances cost others in weariness and suffering. Here again we come back to the remedy. It is in the public. If the public will be merciful to the players and stay

away on Sundays, the Sunday performance will be given up.

As before remarked, this Alliance champions the appeal of the actor for a weekly rest-period. It is so reasonable an appeal that we may well suppose our generous American people who have never thought of the matter before will, when it is brought to their notice, accord the accompanying request and stay away from the Sunday theater. Once the Sunday performance becomes unpopular the financial interests of the managers can be relied upon to close the doors of the playhouses on Sunday.

This article might be protracted almost indefinitely, but enough has been said to show the position of the Actors' Church Alliance at the close of its five years of work and to indicate the extent of the field before it. It has certainly justified its own existence and has proven itself worthy of confidence. If it has not done all that some sanguine people expected, we must remember how delicate and how difficult have been its tasks. The misunderstandings and the prejudices of many years cannot be speedily overcome, nor can abuses be corrected in a day.

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THE ATHENS OF PERICLES: THE MOST SOCIALISTIC CITY OF THE WORLD.

By REV. W. D. P. BLISS,

Editor of the *Encyclopædia of Social Reform.*

WE ARE sometimes told that Socialism will check individuality. But facts are the best teachers, and it is the purpose of this article to show that the one glorious city which admittedly has produced a larger number of the greatest individualities than almost any other ten cities of the world put together was also the one city which must undoubtedly be called "the most socialistic city of the world."

We refer to ancient Athens in the supremacy of her civilization; to ancient Athens of the age of Pericles. By this we certainly do not mean that Athens was a complete socialism, or indeed an approximation to a complete socialism; for surely no city that allowed slavery can be called that: we only mean and propose to show by undoubted facts, that Athens in the age of Pericles did adopt far more of the socialistic principles than any other city

has ever done, before or since, and yet did produce,—nay, because of her socialistic principles, produced the greatest number of supreme individualities. Let us look at the facts.

First, we remind ourselves of what individualities Periclean Athens produced. Says Dr. Francis Galton, one of the highest authorities in anthropological science, in speaking of Athens:

“A population of ninety thousand produced two men, Socrates and Phidias, which the whole population of Europe has never equaled, and fourteen men of an ability of which the Anglo-Saxon race has only produced, in two thousand years, five equals.”

He asserts that the average ability of the Athenian race was about as much above that of the English race as that race is above the African negro. This is a strong statement, and yet it is endorsed by J. A. Symonds, one of the foremost literary and artistic critics of our own or any day. Mr. Symonds says that the population of Athens, taken as a whole, was perhaps as superior to ours as is ours to that of the African savage. Surely if these statements be half true, Athens produced unrivaled individualities.

Think for a moment of the names that adorn this Periclean age of Athens. We give them below, with the dates of their birth and death, or the culminating years of their genius, as it bears upon our argument to show within what narrow limits of time this unrivaled galaxy of genius appeared.

In philosophy and morals we have Socrates (469–399 B. C.); Plato (428–347 B. C.); Aristotle (384–322 B. C.). Surely in the history of thought there are no grander names than these.

Turn to the drama: Æschylus (525–456 B. C.); Sophocles (495–405 B. C.); Euripides (480–406 B. C.). These are the great masters of the tragic drama; while Aristophanes (444–388 B. C.) was the great founder of the classic comedy.

In history, Thucydides (470–404 B. C.)

has perhaps no rival, and Xenophon (431–355 B. C.) has but very few.

In sculpture, Phidias (500–432 B. C.), and Praxiteles (364 B. C.) stand out unequaled; while Myron (440 B. C.) stands very high.

In architecture, Ictinus and Callicrates, the architects of the Parthenon (459 B. C.), produced works certainly of their period the most beautiful and of all periods the most perfect buildings in the world.

In painting, Polygnotus (460 B. C.) did work which cultured Athens placed on a par with her sculpture.

In oratory, every school-boy knows of Demosthenes (382–322 B. C.), every college-boy of Æschinus (389–313 B. C.), while their contemporaries compared Isocrates (436–338 B. C.) and Lysias (445–362 B. C.) with these.

In generalship, Miltiades (490 B. C.), the hero of Marathon, and Nicias (413 B. C.), the leader in the Spartan wars, must not be forgotten.

In statesmanship, Pericles (495–429 B. C.), Cimon (502–449 B. C.) and Themistocles (514–449 B. C.) are names that challenge the attention.

Twenty-four names. Where outside of these in history can an approximation to such a list be found? Yet these individualities were all produced in Athens between the limits of the battle of Marathon (490 B. C.) and the battle of Chæronea (338 B. C.), in one hundred and fifty-two years.

Let us ask now the cause of this unequaled efflorescence.

We are told that it was in *race*. But if it was in *race*, why was it that all this galaxy of genius appeared only in those one hundred and fifty-two years? The Athenian race endured in the main, unmingled with other stock, perhaps fifteen hundred years; yet outside of those one hundred and fifty-two years the barrenness of great names in Athens is almost as marked as its greatness in that period. Nor was this race limited to Athens. The same Ionic race, with little variation from its primitive stock, peopled eastern Greece and

western Asia Minor, colonized the *Ægean* Islands and cities all the way from Sinope on the Black sea to the colonies upon the shores of Spain. Yet nowhere else do we have any results in the remotest degree comparable with those of Athens.

We are told that the cause was in *climate*. Yet the climate has endured substantially unchanged for thirty-five hundred years, and only in those one hundred and fifty-two years has there been such development. Byron is right:

"The Isles of Greece! the Isles of Greece!

Where burning Sappho loved and sung,—

Where grew the arts of war and peace,—

Where Delos rose and Phœbus sprung!

Eternal summer gilds them yet!

But all except their sun is set."

Still

"The mountains look on Marathon,
And Marathon looks on the sea;"

but Marathon to-day has no Miltiades, and his modern successors defend no Academy of Plato or Parthenon of Phidias and of Pericles.

Some cause must be found which was true of Athens during the one hundred and fifty-two years between Marathon and Chæronea, and was not operative before or since. We can find such a cause only in the socialistic features which prevailed in Athens during that period, and not before or since.

What is socialism? The ownership of land and capital collectively and their operation collectively for the equitable good of all. Now this was not true of Athens as a whole; for the Athenians held slaves. But among the slaves great individuality did not appear. It was, however, to a very large degree true of the free citizens of Athens in the age of Pericles, and among these free citizens the great individualities did appear.

Let us see how socialistic was Periclean Athens.

In the first place Athens, by municipally-owned land and the simple capital of the day, practically guaranteed a liveli-

hood to every free Athenian who was willing to do a little work for the State. This was accomplished by means of the so-called *dicasticon* or daily fee paid to any free citizen of Athens who did jury-duty in the multitudinous Athenian courts. It was first one and then three oboes a day—nine cents, seemingly a small sum, and yet upon this income we are told "most of the poorer citizens lived." And upon this they could live in respectability and reasonable comfort. A small house could be bought for fifty dollars or rented for five dollars per year. Furniture was of the simplest, yet beautiful and durable. A fashionable tunic could be bought for two dollars and a workman's raiment for less. Food was simple, cheap and healthy, so that a man could live well for nine cents a day. Yet any free citizen of Athens could get this income at practically any time, because it was "a device to support all the poor citizens of Athens upon the public money."

Nor was this all. Citizens were paid an *ecclesiasticon*, or fee for attending the *ecclesia* or popular assembly of the citizens to which any free citizen could go. How democratic this was we learn from Protogoras: "When some question of civil administration is to be discussed, they rise and offer their minds upon it. . . . Carpenter, smith and shoemaker, rich and poor, those of high birth or of low degree." Yet they were paid for this service sums varying at different periods from three to twenty-seven cents. The city-state saw that her poorest citizens had food for the soul and the mind as well as the body. During the festivals, which in Athens were more numerous than in any other Greek city, the poorer citizens were paid two oboes, to enable a man and his wife to go to the theater and hear an immortal play by *Æschylus*, or *Euripides*, or to laugh with *Aristophanes*. They were given besides, money for occasional feasts and sacrifices at the socialistic religious festivals. All this was for any citizen, to say nothing of those elected to the *Boule* or council, or who did especial work as clerks

or in the army. The result was that *any free Athenian citizen was assured a livelihood by the State*. The effect of this upon individuality is at once apparent. While the State forbade no individual to enter the commercial world and become rich, no one was *compelled* to enter commerce or trade for a living. The poorest citizen could go to the Academy of Plato or the Lyceum of Aristotle. The poorest citizen could give his life to philosophy, to literature or to art; and the State encouraged this. Wealthy citizens were asked to give public donations for prize competitions in music, oratory, the drama, athletic sports and other arts. Athens had competition, but a competition in the arts, not of the market. No Athenian was compelled to compete to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market. Each citizen was encouraged to compete, and all citizens were trained to judge of merit and of worth in the higher arts. The result was that mere money-making was despised. Citizens could become bankers and merchants, but Athens' Four Hundred was artistic, not commercial. Commerce and trade were largely left to the slaves. Does any one wonder that out of such soil high individuality arose?

And let us not fancy that the Athenian State was paternal. The fees paid to the Athenian democracy were not given as a charity, or as a largess, like the *panis et circus* of the Roman imperialism. Athens as far as her free citizens were concerned, was fiercely democratic. Her citizens were paid, not in charity, but in justice, for doing a certain amount of communal work. Said Pericles in his immortal Funeral Oration, preserved by Thucydides:

"We are happy in a form of government . . . original at Athens, and this our form, as committed, not to the few

but to the whole body of the people, is called a democracy."

The free citizen of Athens in the age of Pericles was probably freer in the deep sense of opportunity to develop his own individuality than any citizen of any other country of the world has ever been before or since.

The city, too, obtained its ability to maintain this system in socialistic ways. The public revenue of Athens came very largely from the state-owned mines at Laurium and from other state-owned and leased or operated mines, farms, orchards, woods and lands. She received tribute not *from* her citizens, but *for* her citizens, from allies, colonies, aliens, conquests, expeditions. The State, so far as her free citizens were concerned, was a Public Trust, operated for the advantage of her citizens.

Athens, we repeat, was by no means a true socialism, because she had slaves; but all that was best, all that was greatest, all that was finest, all that most contributed to the development of marvelous individuality, she owed to her adoption in the age of Pericles of the above socialistic principles.

Her greatness did not endure because she forsook these principles. Though the germs of the system can be traced earlier, the system itself was only developed after the battle of Marathon, and it was practically abandoned after Chæronea. Greece as a whole was not socialistic, but a loose federation of competing republics. A competitive Greece fell before a united Macedonia, and Macedonia before the greater unity of the Roman Empire. But it was exactly during her most socialistic age that Athens produced her unrivaled individualities.

W. D. P. BLISS.

Amityville, L. I.

THE FIRST CAUSE OF DIVORCE.

BY WINNIFRED HARPER COOLEY.

"I cannot dispute the proposition that in the great process of evolution, divorce is an indication of growing independence and self-respect in women,—a proclamation that marriage must be the union of self-respecting and mutually-respected equals, and that in the ideal home-life of the future, that hideous thing, the subjugation of woman, is to be unknown."—*Rev. Frederick Hinckley, Philadelphia.*

BEFORE bewailing the remarkable increase in the number of divorces in America, following the laxity of divorce laws, it behooves the student to investigate the subject in its several phases. First, can it possibly be claimed that the ease in obtaining divorces *causes* unhappy marriages? Surely not. People whom married life satisfies, who are congenial, or who even find their union bearable, are not affected by the passing of new divorce laws, any more than people who do not desire to travel are impelled to leave home by a new railroad-rate. The attempt of legislators to make divorce attainable upon many grounds, is an honest effort to relieve the already wretched, and could scarcely be construed as an invitation to the happy to sever their relationship.

Second. *Making public* an unhappy union does not *create the evil*—it merely exposes it. Corruption in the human body is more easily treated when it breaks out upon the surface than when it remains in the system. This is equally true of the evils of the domestic or social body. A fact which most conservatives never grasp is that domestic misery has existed from the first marriages. It is a part of the "growing-pains" of monogamy. As marriage is a delicate adjustment of two lives voluntarily dwelling together, there must be in the very nature of the new adjustment, a *possible failure*. It is usually conceded by the initiated that there is no purgatory in matrimony—it is either para-

dise or inferno! With the possibilities of the former in mind, it is not surprising that so many risk experiencing the latter.

To return to our premise: Divorce does not create, it merely exposes marital infelicity. No historian has ever portrayed the broken hearts and ruined homes of the past, before divorces were permitted, surely as pitiful and revolting as those sensationally reported by our modern yellow journals. Therefore, we assume that the marriages of our forefathers were models of continence and felicity! That this was so, we have every reason to doubt.

While the ideals of womanhood have been changing, they scarcely have exceeded the rapid changes in the ideals of men. The American man of the twentieth century is as much superior to his grandfather in his treatment of women, as his electric-lights exceed his grandsire's tallow-dip. To him woman is not a chattel, a plaything, blighted by a primeval curse. She is many things to him; the romantic idol of his boyhood, the loving sharer of his joys and griefs, his jolly comrade, his sentimental ideal, the practical companion of a prosy business, the inspiration of his ambitions; any or all of these, but seldom the meek subordinate of his ancestor's days.

With all these improved conditions, we naturally expect fewer unhappy combinations in the matrimonial alliances. The writer firmly believes that there is less misery. However, as ideals become higher, adjustments in personal relations grow more exacting—and properly so. The woman who, in the eighteenth century, was thankful that her spouse did not take advantage of the English common-law, and beat her with a "stick no larger than his thumb," were she living now, might exact sobriety, good temper, and a

divided income! Undoubtedly, many men in the past, strictly adhered to the Seventh Commandment, yet made their wives so utterly wretched, that these might have welcomed a rival who would have engrossed their husband's attention, and left them some measure of individuality and freedom. Undoubtedly, many others did break the Seventh Commandment, but their wives were compelled to endure martyrdom, first because they had no redress from the law, and later, because public opinion was so violently opposed to divorce that the woman in every case, even when innocent, became a social outcast. America was overwhelmed with disgust and horror when Elizabeth Cady Stanton asked the New York legislature, in 1854, to grant divorce for habitual drunkenness.

The writer once knew a "happy, old-fashioned family." The man was a prominent judge, "of excellent habits." They had eleven children, out of which seven died early, and one "went to the bad." The woman had married at fifteen. A year after her marriage, she went to her father, and begged him on her knees to receive her at home, promising to do the work of a servant.

Shocked and severe, he sent her back to the husband she had promised to obey. After this she had eleven children by the man whom she dreaded and despised. People considered their home a typical happy household, and a separation would have caused a sensation and been regarded as a family disgrace; yet no one in that day would have considered it a social crime to propagate that family, nor would any considerable number of people have cared to openly express compassion for the woman's daily crucifixion.

We are not to suppose, then, that the past was redolent of sweet unions because most people lived together until death cut the Gordian knot of the marriage-tie.

The past was not pure, although women were trained to endure. The prevalence

of divorce is but frank acknowledgment of an age-long malady.

Men have made codes, creeds, and customs. The woman's side in law has yet to be expressed. In the state* where full woman-suffrage has prevailed for thirty years, there are more marriages, and fewer divorces than in any state in the country!

Divorce has many assigned causes. The final reason is usually known (unless covered by the cloak of "incompatibility"). The *First Cause*, however, of all marital misfortune, is the primal mistake in selection. If laws could regulate marriage, instead of divorce, if a beneficent social control could supervise the first step, many of the intermediate sorrows and the final tragedy or scandal of the last step might be avoided.

It is safe to assert that ninety-nine marriages out of a hundred are founded upon passion; a number also upon caprice and chance propinquity.

The record of divorces among college-bred people is almost a blank, for these universally marry with respect and congeniality as a basis. The law places practically no restraint upon uniting in matrimony, except age limitations, and these merely provide against extreme youth, not against extreme age, or abnormal disparity in the ages of contracting parties. Consanguinity debars from marriage in some states, but the law can be evaded by traveling to others. Some states have enacted laws against persons afflicted with loathsome diseases marrying, but no examination is called for, thus no provision is made for the enforcement of the law.

Insanity and viciousness are transmitted freely by the inter-marrying of invalids and criminals. One criminal pair in New York, the Jukes, produced 1,200 offspring, of whom one-fourth were paupers, and devitalized; 300 died in infancy; there were 7 murderers, 50 prostitutes, 60 habitual thieves, 130 general criminals,

*Wyoming.

400 wrecks early in life; and many imbecile and insane. This criminal family, the result of the unbridled passion of one couple, cost the state thousands of dollars. It would have been fortunate, had this primal pair sought a divorce court, early in their career.

The problems here sketched, are pre-

sented as a suggestion for twentieth-century sociologists, who will grow to consider more earnestly, not divorce and the undeniable tragedies of broken homes, but the canker at the root of all divorces—thoughtless and immoral alliances.

WINNIFRED HARPER COOLEY.

Grand Rapids, Mich.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

By M. L. LITTLETON.

IN THE "hill country," where the arrowy rushing of the Elk river fills the woods with its rhythmic echoes, Will Allan Dromgoole dreams her exquisite poems and finds her dialect stories. Her home is a small, yellow cottage set on a sloping lawn over whose low-roofed porch a tangled wealth of vines showers wild fragrance upon the air. The place is resonant of her personality as is an old violin of musical memories. Close to a pathway that rambles to her door mountain mosses grow and ferns feather in fearless disorder. Across the lawn an oak-tree lies where the lightning felled it to the ground, and over its desolation the gentle authoress has trained an English ivy. Save for the slanting, brown roof, the cottage is hidden away from the roadside by majestic oak-trees,—hoary, old oaks, redolent of forest vigor and mystic with forest-lore.

If you would enjoy a visit to the famous writer, lay aside your Paris hat with its stuffed bird (there are hundreds of birds here singing of freedom); forget awhile the conventionalities of social serfdom, and return to the heart of nature. Common things have a value here, and humble folk a deep, poetic significance. The patched clothes and wrinkled, black face of old Uncle Frank there, mending the fence with such exasperating slowness, will some day shine out upon you through the haze of a little poem, and the ebony arms, "wrenching clo'es" in the tumbling

creek, will be a picture-story. The old blacksmith-shop, where the Farrier's Dog and his Fellow found a home, is on the way to "de sto'e"; I pass it every day and speak often with the blacksmith sitting before "the sooty, old shop, among the dust and cinders and rusted old iron, and drawing at his cob-pipe." Just as in the stories, the sun shines unrebuked through the cracks in the roof, and the anvil rings with the pathos of humble, honest toil.

The laundress who does my "washin'," and does it well, lives in Asia and is the heroine of "The Blue-China Bowl." She likes to tell of "de toomstones" that mark "de graves" of her several spouses. Yes, the blue-china bowl is here and the lady who bought it. "Siste' Pennington," of "George Washington's Bufday" goes often to "de sto'e" with chickens of her own raising. She has a mystified air about her as if she "stedied" profoundly over the perplexing problem of her age. She always answers my inquiry as to her health with, "I's tole'able; is you tole'able dis mornin'?" George Washington waits on the table of the summer hotel. No minstrel caricature could do justice to the thickness of his lips, the amount of white allotted to his eyeballs, and the pride he takes in his place in literature. If you will allow her, "siste' Pennington" will entertain you with wonderful "experiences" in the religious line. She "sho' do think a heap of Miss Willie." When she was down "wid de rheumatiz, en had

to gib up washin' fur de whole winter, Miss Willie brung her bed-clo'es, en a description from de doctor, en hot biskits."

Everybody knows "Miss Willie" here. Worn, old hats come off, and weather-beaten faces brighten at her coming like ploughed fields in sunshine after a rain.

"Mam' Till" has for several generations proved her fidelity and indispensability to the Dromgoole children. She is here for the summer in the big house that runs down the hill, singing to "Miss Willie's" nieces and nephews, "Free grace en dyin' love." Her character as drawn in "A Scrap of College-Lore" is true to life. Hers are the Mammy-songs that echo so musically through Miss Dromgoole's writings, and of which the following, entitled "When Mammy Sings de Bye-Bye," is typical:

"When Mammy sings de Bye-Bye,
En de day gits sort o' late,
You kin hear de soo-cows lowin'
Down by de paschur-gate,
En wil' birds come a-flutterin'
En cryin' fer deir mate.

When Mammy sing de Bye-Bye,
Den de sunlight hides its face,
En you seem ter hear de tinklin'
O' de water in de race,
En de roses gits ter laffin',
En de lilies changin' place.

When Mammy sings de Bye-Bye,
De winter turns ter spring,
En you seem ter hear de rustle
Of de passin' angel's wing;
En all de little stars come out
Ter hear my Mammy sing.

When Mammy sings de Bye-Bye,
De shadders on de wall
Seem ter twis', en grow, en wobble,
Des lack dey bleeed ter fall.
But Mammy holds you tighter,
En you ain't afeard at all.

When Mammy sings de Bye-Bye,
You kin feel de slumber creep;
En you does n't want ter bye-bye,
En you tries ter play at 'Peep,'
But the Bye-Bye's got you conjured,
En yer eyes is fast asleep."

Near here, in the hollow where the trees and river make you long for the poet's gift of song, is "de Baptis' Meetin'-House," where that "wonderful experience meetin'" was held. "Hard-shelled Baptis', honey; sum calls 'em hardsides, sum name's de ole Primunters." Here, when "de foot washin'" is going on, you can hear those negro hymns that haunt your memory after reading Miss Dromgoole's stories. "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," "Oh, De Camalite Chu'ch Am a Mighty New Chu'ch"; and so on, till the singers reach the "Oh, De Baptis' Chu'ch Am a Mighty Good Chu'ch." But you should hear Miss Dromgoole sing them.

Oh, yes, there they are,—those beech and water-oaks, with roots bared by the flooding of the creek, whose branches interlock in wedded constancy over the lonely woodland path where the authoress and her silver-haired father so often were seen "jogging along together."

I had the pleasure of being of the receiving party this summer when Miss Dromgoole entertained the Tennessee Press and Authors' Club, distinguished politicians, railroad representatives, and staff-members from the great daily papers of Knoxville, Chattanooga, Memphis and Nashville, with many editors from the papers of smaller towns.

The cottage was *en fête*; a rag carpet covered the floor of Miss Dromgoole's study, bird's-nests, horse-shoes, fish-nets, etc., adorned the walls; on the back porch a long towel hung on a roller; on a shelf was a tin pan; nearby, a cedar bucket of fresh spring-water. Under the oak-trees on the lawn a table was spread. The decorations were ferns, mosses and wild flowers. At either end of the hospitable board was a barbecued pig, which was served with hoe-cakes, buttermilk, watercress, mountain ham, etc. Under a wild grape-vine, on a stump, stood a huge gourd from which the guests drank lemonade in small gourds. Underneath a pear-tree, half-buried in a hollow stump which showed the inscription "Moonshine" cut in bark, was a keg of delicious

wine made from native grapes. Two little darkies (you have read of them in "A Blue-China Bowl") kept off the flies with peach-tree limbs, after the manner of the country "folk." An orchestra played negro melodies and sang coon-songs, the guests joining in the chorus in gay abandonment of conventionality. The souvenirs were tiny horse-shoes, made at the old blacksmith-shop by the Farrier of the story; they were presented while the toasts sparkled around the jovial board and the laughter of voices echoed through the woods. Out of compliment to Major W. J. Thomas, who had tendered a private car for the occasion, Miss Dromgoole's toast was "The Railroad and Its Riders."

Will Allen Dromgoole is doing some of her best work now. Her short stories in *THE ARENA* show brilliancy and force. Her realism is not that dreary thing so often mistaken for it,—materialism,—but rather an intuitive spiritual vision born of a genius for quick, reportorial observation, and cultured by the suffering that is every woman's due who toils upward to artistic success. Charles Egbert Craddock (Miss Murfree) rejoices, glories, triumphs in her descriptions of nature, which have the wild fragrance, the lavish bloom, the wasteful prodigality of the mountain fastnesses; Will Allen Dromgoole subordinates scenery to character; the dominant note of her writings is dramatic, not lyric; she forestalls any impatience of long descriptions by hastening the human interest. An example of this art is seen in "The Leper of the Cumberland," and "Milsick Mountain," whose loneliness has hardly seized upon us before out of its weird shadows human faces peer, and human destinies appeal to our tears.

It is to this dramatic instinct that she owes her striking, flashlight titles. "The New-Year's Watch" shows dramatic power, the tragic note poetically conceived and struck with a strong, firm touch. Hers is not the drama of a complex civilization; fear, hunger, cold, life, death, the gamut of the common people, appeals to her hearing. Love pervades her work;

not the love of passion, but that love which Saint Paul calls charity; the love of man for his brother man. There is a social status of "niggers" and "pore white folks" in Tennessee as permanent as the hills. This condition she has grasped with a master-hand. The moral strength of her "people" rings true; it is founded on faith, not in the accumulated wisdom of twenty centuries of Christian heritage, but primeval faith,—the faith of primitive man in God the Creator. Her poems in the *Nashville Banner*, of which she is a staff-member, are quite as musical as those of Frank L. Staunton, marked in every way by a distinctive individuality—a certain dash and daring to be true, as if she yet expected to be challenged for not being some one else.

I close with three stanzas from one of her recent poems, because of the note of triumph they contain:

"Should Sorrow come calling and stop at your door,

Remember she's tarried at hearthstones before.

Should Grief come a-knocking, arise, let her in;
There's many a balm where her footsteps have been.

Should Want's hungry visage seem drawing too near,

Throw open your window; there's nothing to fear.

These things are but transient; they pass in a day,

Like pollen on flowers the winds bear away.

There is nothing to run from, and nothing to fear

In ills which at some time all of us must bear.

Admit them; they're merely a part of the plan
Designed at the first for the guidance of man.

Admit them, believing they come soon or late

To the rich and the poor, the humble and great;

To the peasant and prophet, the fool and the wise;

And often they come as dear friends in disguise.

A sob, and a sighing, and lo! at the last,

The Angel of Peace couches where they have passed."

M. L. LITTLETON.

Estill Springs, Tenn.

THE SIGN OF THE REAL.

BY GURNER CASE.

"WHAT'S the use!" exclaimed the girl and she glanced droopingly at her tablet and pressed the point off her pencil. "What's the use!" she said again, and her hand lay passive. That morning she had written to a friend in Cambridge. The letter was begun in the corner of the paper with the brief and direct bulletin "Stormy Day." No date, no address. The other girl was a friend and understood. Time and place were not to be reckoned thus conventionally. Moreover it wasted time to write them, and the girl was very busy to-day.

She had said in the letter: "This is a gloriously glum day to write. Snow in billowy banks descending, and—greater blessing—a quiescent household. Am waiting for the heavenly fire to manifest itself. My paper is due, you know. Think, *think* for and towards me, there's a good lass! Set the psychic's waves a-dancing. If you think to some purpose I shall dedicate my next successful effort to thee," and so on. The letter was in a gay and flippant spirit, she had told herself; she would settle to work and make of the rest of the day a purposeful and profitable one.

And now she sat idly and wondered what her next paragraph would be.

The postman's whistle shrilled softly below, and glancing out the girl saw on the opposite corner a window suddenly raised, and an elderly dame, evidently scant of time and breath was lowering a letter attached to a limp string, while on the sidewalk the postman good-temperedly waited to huddle it into the common pack.

Hillary laughed. "Dear me," she said aloud, "I hope I shall never be as fat and ineffectual as that. Poor lady, she imagines she's growing old!" And the girl's glance wandered to a table of books, and rested on a copy of *Rabbi Ben Ezra*.

"She never read it," said the girl.

The copy was unbound and the leaves shifting about in a helpless way, and almost entirely unstrung. The fly-leaves were rolled and ragged and some of them gone entirely.

"You need an outer garment," said the girl, addressing the book from across the room. "You shall have it soon, too, my Trojan!"

No sound after that, for half an hour, save the crisp traveling of the girl's pencil, and once the plaintive chime of her little clock. Then she laid her pencil down, glanced at the table again, then swiftly out through the window across the great city. She saw it not—but just one tiny detail therein—a little attic place wherein Monsieur worked. Dear, old Monsieur, who had been binding books so many years!

Hillary opened the unsteady copy and several loose sheets fell to the ground. She picked them up and read on the top leaf—

"Then welcome each rebuff

That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but
go."

"But go," she repeated. Those lines always reminded her of Monsieur, somehow. He was always bright and energetic, and thankful and sure. She would go to see him. She could write no more on her paper, it seemed. So she would go to see Monsieur, and bind her *Rabbi Ben Ezra*. Monsieur had taught her how to bind.

She flung an elastic band around the book, and reached for her cap and cloak.

The book-binder looked up as the door of his little shop tinkled.

"Oh, Ma'm'selle Hillary," and his face brightened, "this is good indeed! You have been a long time away—no?"

"Yes, I have," said the girl, shaking

hands. "Here is my offering for absence," and unwinding her small paper balloon, she shook out a bunch of beaming marigolds.

"Here," said she, holding them towards him.

"Marigolds!" exclaimed Monsieur, "Of all things, marigolds!" He laughed and his look was a blend of animation and surprise.

"Why, 'of all things'?" asked Hillary, hanging up her coat.

"Here—sit here by the fire—Ma'm'selle—such a day for thee to wander forth—the winds and snow quite rampant. Shall I make you some tea?"

"Tea! No, Monsieur, thank you. And are you not growing luxurious?" She smiled brightly at him from behind the stove-pipe. "But shall I make you some?"

The binder waved his hand.

"I have brought around *Rabbi Ben Ezra* to bind," she explained. "I had him firmly fettered, and under my arm all the way. Otherwise he would have blown to the uttermost corners of the earth. See, even the threads have nearly gone, and it's fast approaching a state of total collapse. Think of such a pean to the glory of old age, suffering that fate!"

"I know not much of Browning," said the binder, "but I always liked this. It's heartsome and has a forward outlook."

"Yes, that's it," said the girl. "And I must have an appropriate binding."

She went over to the corner where velums, russias, moroccos, and a crowd of lesser lights in bindings, hobnobbed in tangled sociability. Hillary tossed them about. Blacks, browns, reds and grays were alike discarded. "I'm looking for a green," she explained, "something conveying the idea of perennial."

Meantime the binder had been placing the marigolds in water and when the girl turned around they were standing on the measuring table, a sunny bunch of color in the gray room.

"And now about the posies," said she.

"Why did you say, 'of all things, marigolds'?"

Monsieur had seated himself before his sewing-board, and looked out at her from between the two spindle uprights on either side, as he answered.

"It seems just one bit odd that you should bring them, not knowing. The marigolds have been of interest in our family for years, and if one can believe tradition, for centuries. They are associated with a stone—a gem—that, too, has been in the family. There are strange tales of gems—Ma'm'selle—of talismans and amulets and charms, if one wishes to listen. We French have had these tales so handed down to us. We listen with perhaps more gladness than you."

"Your fancy is livelier," interposed the girl.

"You mean more freakish. Ah, I know!" And he laughed and shook a finger at her.

"There is one superstition among many, about a kind of opal, though, Ma'm'selle. In olden time it was known as the heliotrope stone, or Oriental jasper. It was more violet than most opals, and a bit clearer. It was much valued as one amulet, and when a person wished to become invisible he sought out marigolds and crushed them and anointed the stone in the juice of them and thus the stone became one powerful amulet. You can see, too, that its power could be much abused. It also saved men from drowning, 't was said, and gave long life to those who could use it well."

"Ah!" said the girl.

"Like all amulets it has many garments of fancy and the superstition, and would quite weary Ma'm'selle to follow its changes.

The girl's look was vivid and full of direct interest.

"Is the amulet still living?" she asked.

"Yes," he said, simply, "I have it"; and glanced at her curiously while a little ripple of fun waved in his eyes. After a moment's hesitation, "I'll get the stone," he said; "you may see it."

"The story runs," he continued, going to a square, rough little cabinet in a corner, "the story runs that the stone was first brought in the mouth of one snake, straight into the court of Clovis one day—and a rough court it must have been. The King, it seems, had saved the nest of the snake from one wanton attack by some of his knights while riding. It was no doubt merely his whim, and no especial kindness of heart on the monarch's part. But he saved it. And the grateful creature the next day entered the feasting-hall bearing a gem in its mouth, glided to the table, dropped the stone in the King's wine and departed, while they all sat too agape to move. The King was for running and slaying her. 'Not so,' said a Wise Man among them, 'T is but for thy healing. Drink thou it.' The King, with a great guffaw, swallowed the wine and straightway a troublesome lameness of the back left him, and he found he could swing his battle-axe with his accustomed valor—which was quite terrible always. He then took the stone from the bottom of the flagon, and tossed it across to one favorite knight—not wishing to seem much moved—and gave it to him. This knight was one worthy gentleman, as knights did go in those days, it seems, for the amulet served him well—he being instructed of the Wise Man of its power. He was some time after slain—for they could not bear marigolds into battle—and the amulet fell into the hands of this good gentleman's enemy—and from then until now it has refused the boon of invisibility."

The binder came toward the girl.

"You must not be wearied with details, Ma'm'selle. This is it." He opened his hand. There lay a ring of very old, dark gold, much wrought. In the center was found the heliotrope, a score of lights darting within. As Hillary took it into her hand and gazed into it, it seemed to gather in its depths a billow of purple shadows—which rose and broke against the surface, the crest sparkling with the life of many lights—then sub-

siding again as to the deep quiet of a pool.

Inside the gold band, was an inscription so fine that the girl could not read it. Moreover, it was in old French. She looked at the binder with a half question.

"It means nothing nowadays," said he, and gave the line: "For a bound knight who shall loose his own fetters."

"It has been a nonsense in the ears of generations of our family. But they have all raised marigolds," he added with sudden amusement, "and I suppose all have had a hand in dousing the patient stone with the juices."

"Yes," laughed Hillary, "poor bloomlets! I believe I can see myself among the hopeful band of experimenters, though."

She was tossing the ring lightly up from her palm, and watching it sparkle back again.

The binder went to his sewing-board and selected a needle.

"I remember," he said, "my great-grandfather bringing out the gem one eve of the New Year—when we were in France—and telling me that it was an amulet—and much more about it. And afterwards I ran out and searched in the dusk for marigolds, and found one and squeezed it tightly between my thumb and finger, and went in again and asked the grandfather that I might brush it against the stone. He laughed much and let me. But we could not pass the test for we all stayed very solidly in our bodies in the presence of one another, the evening through."

"The Knight is yet to come," said the girl. She was still tossing the ring off her palm, and as she looked away from it to the binder, it fell to the floor and rolled.

"Oh!" she cried, and was on the floor. Monsieur rose quickly to search with her—and brushed against the measuring table, knocking off the marigolds and stepping into their midst.

"Step back, please, Monsieur, I think I see it," said the girl. "Yes, here under the flowers. It's a fortune you did n't step on it. How careless I have been!"

Then she added suddenly, smiling up at him from the floor as she lifted the ring and the marigolds:

"You see, *you*, too, have doused it, after all! These blooms are quite wet and crushed."

They looked at each other, playing with the whim for a moment. The binder slipped on the ring and went to his work again, and Hillary sat down in front of her sewing-board, placed her book in the frame and pulled down the cross-piece between the spindles. Her back was toward the binder. His needle plied rhythmically through the pages. She could hear it. In a moment her needle was plying in and out. A sudden blast of wind, and the windows shuddered—then nothing but the fall, fall of the snow. She sewed carefully two inches down the margin of her book. The room became very quiet. A mouse tripped along the measuring-table and seeing Hillary, fled.

The girl wondered what that old-time knight was like—then scorned herself for vagaries. He must have been of high tone, though. The amulet worked only for the truly gentle—

Another blast of wind and another shudder of the window.

Perhaps Monsieur is the first worthy of its power since that old-time knight. She could hear his needle yet. She wondered if she looked around should she *see* him. She would n't look around. The moment held a fancy. A page flapped faintly behind her. The sleet tapped eerily outside—and then the still, oh, still room again! Queer how that ring should have fallen under those flowers. The purple shadows were pressing into the room. They were the color of the amulet. So were the half-glowing coals in the little stove. The room was full of amulets. She would look around now. She half-turned in her chair.

"Monsieur," she scarcely called. No answer. She looked fully around at the board. No one sat there. In the same moment the binder's book moved *down* between the uprights!

"Now, Monsieur," said the girl, with a little shake of excitement in her voice. She walked to the sewing-board, looked over, and there on the floor crouched Monsieur, manipulating the string by which he had moved his book, and looking happily childish and successful, as he gazed at his audience.

"I saw you were dreamful when you got your second page upside down, Ma'm'selle, and I have only made for you a realistic ending, you see," he explained. "Now we will work again."

This time the girl sat facing him.

She looked at his good head and its shaggy, dark wave of hair growing gray, and thought of the time when he had been happy in the hope of going to the university in Paris. Then the father had died and so Monsieur had bound books instead. And the girl looked at his thin, work-worn hand with the sensitive fingers.

She saw the brown, lean cheek, and the square jaw, and thought of the time when he had worked his way into a position of trust and well-being in a binding-establishment in France. Then the chief died and his son dismissed Monsieur without explanation. Monsieur had smiled at her when he told her that and saw the look of sudden pity and wrath rise in her face. He had smiled and told her it had been quite what he needed. It had been good for his soul. He had begun again and done better.

The binder raised his hand and the gem caught up the light of the coals from the stove.

"*'For a bound knight who shall loose his own fetters'*"—

The words flashed into Hillary's mind.

Monsieur looked up and glanced out of the window as a whirl of wind careened around the corner and snatched at the glass.

The girl looked at his eyes—at their steadfast, darkly-gray depths—the eyes with a score of expressions—but always with a mood of the sunshine in behind somewhere.

And then she recalled the man whom

he had trusted with the secret of a vellum dye—and the man had betrayed it and disappeared and used it for his personal gain. His friend had done this. She wondered how his eyes had looked then.

But these things had not changed Monsieur. Things had not changed him to warp him, she meant. He had grown under them. He had the secret.

"Oh, Monsieur, what good can come of such an evil?" she had asked him.

"We do learn but to trust again, more widely," he had said, simply.

"Are you busy lately?" Hillary asked him presently, as she tied a knot in the section she had sewed.

"Yes," he replied, "History and philosophies—many—much learning to bind. Some stiff and hard to manage," he added, smiling, "and some quite adaptable, and I sometimes do dive under, you know, and forget for the moment their cords and jackets. So much has been written on the art of living, I know—and I have not read much and so have not gained much. It is my fault, I am stupid. It has always seemed to me a glad thing, though, that the good God has reached out to each man of us the gift of conscience. It is a kind of inner sunshine to us. It is a part of man even if he be a simple one, and we may all develop it, no doubt. It shines brighter in some than in the others of us. Some are like this gem here and the flowers there. They store up the sunshine quite easily, and give it out again. With some of us it is more like the dull coal there and needs more friction. But the light is in us all. Yes, Ma'm'selle, that is our conscience,—the light that is in us all. It will shine forth and be a guide to us, I am sure, if we but welcome the friction that makes it to shine or to bloom."

The quick twilight was coming on. The snow swirled outside and purple shadows were hurrying. The marigolds drooped in the little, grimy tumbler, looking forlorn and shocked.

"I must go," said the girl, "and bind *Ben Ezra* another day. I have finished the sewing, you see? Now you can

choose the chamois for me. I want it cheersome and perennial, remember. None of that blue-green, please."

"Very good, Ma'm'selle Hillary," said he, smiling. "Am so sorry to have stepped on the unhappy marigolds; but to-morrow they will hold up their heads again, no doubt." And the binder whistled softly a gay little tune as he coaxed up their drooping topnots.

As Hillary stood drawing on her cloak and cap, she looked at him standing with the blossoms in his hands—cheery and steady amidst the monotone of a bound-in life of dull round. *Was* it a bound life? And again the line upon the ring came to her. Had not Monsieur loosed his own fetters? Was he not doing so daily—weaving for himself a hearty and simple philosophy—and living in the kingdom of the useful? Such a one was not bound, nor ever could be, even if his shop be somber, his home homeless, his life limited. It was not alone Hillary who knew the helpful atmosphere of Monsieur. Others knew it, and loved him, too. But Hillary knew it best. She was glad he could have trusted her and told her about himself from time to time.

As she stood looking at him the binder replaced the flowers in their tumbler. The heliotrope flashed again.

Hillary's glance traveled from the hand to his face.

"It belongs to *him*," she said quickly to herself. "It is the amulet once more—but only a sign. In his spirit there is set another amulet, and with it each day he rules out of sight the lesser man. Oh, it belongs to him and he does n't know it!"

And as she looked, it seemed that in that instant the form of the binder vanished—perhaps the tears were in the girl's eyes—and out from the mist and uncertainty of the moment there appeared before her an old-time Knight standing, of steady and gentle bearing, and looking like Monsieur. In his hand was a lance, and by his side kneeled a serving-lad. The lance was bright and worn, and on it she read a

name—Conscience. The lad was waiting, and she read across his brow—Circumstance.

Then the girl saw the binder again. He was looking at her wisely. "You should wear your amulet," she said.

"Ah, no—it is not for me," said the binder lightly, pulling off the heliotrope and going with it towards the little cabinet. "It is much too fine. Until I have to part with it—and poorer days may come—it lies here," and he turned the key upon it.

Hillary stood by the door pulling on her gloves. The binder came towards her.

"Good knight and faithful," she said

softly to herself, looking past him out into the storm.

"Did you say something?" asked Monsieur,

"I said 'good-night,'" said the girl, smiling at him suddenly, and shaking hands.

"Take a blossom with you through the snow," said the binder. "You will perhaps not soon forget them—no?"

From outside the door as she went down the stairs she heard him finishing the little French tune.

And she carried the blossom with her through the snow.

GURNER CASE.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

VICTOR HUGO'S WISE WORDS ON THE PERIL OF COMMERCIALISTIC DOMINATION IN NATIONAL IDEALS.

By "GROWAN."

THERE is a strong tendency at the present time in governmental and business circles to subordinate ethics and noble ideals of free government to considerations of commercial expansion and the acquisition of gold. This symptom is disquieting to all students of the philosophy of history. It presages the shifting of the national ideal from that which gives permanence and lasting greatness to a nation to that which is ephemeral and decadent. In his day Victor Hugo discerned this symptom in the national life of France, and thus contrasted the results as writ on the pages of history concerning the fate of the ancient capitals of materialistic commercialism and the great old European capital of thought:

bought and sold; Sidon bought and sold. Where are these cities? Athens taught; and she is to this hour one of the capitals of human thought.

"The grass is growing on the six steps of the tribune where spoke Demosthenes; the Ceramicus is a ravine half-choked with the marble dust which was once the palace of Cecrops; the Odeon of Herod Atticus, at the foot of the Acropolis, is now but a ruin on which falls, at certain hours, the imperfect shadow of the Parthenon; the temple of Theseus belongs to the swallows; the goats browse on the Pnyx. Still the Greek spirit lives; still Greece is queen; still Greece is goddess. A counting-house passes away; a school remains."

"GROWAN."

"Tyre bought and sold; Berytus

Boston, Mass.



THE TEN COMMANDMENTS REVISED TO MEET THE STRENUOUS IDEAS
OF MODERN CHRISTENDOM.

Drawn by Dan. Beard expressly for THE ARENA.

(See Editorial.)

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS AND THE CHRISTIAN NATIONS.

MR. BEARD'S cartoon, drawn for this issue of *THE ARENA*, should arrest the attention of Christian men and women. Two things are so universally recognized in this connection as to be axiomatic: (1) War is demoralizing. It lets loose the savage and base passions of man as does nothing else. During war the "Thou shalt nots" of the Old Dispensation no less than the peerless law of the New are disregarded as at no other time. (2) The weight and emphasis of Christ's precepts and example were against war and violence of all kinds. So positive are his teachings in the lofty ethical code that stands in the forefront of his ministry—the key-note of his message found in his Sermon on the Mount—that it is incredible that anyone claiming to be a follower of Christ would dare to justify, much less advocate, a war of aggression. And yet, practically all the great Christian powers to-day, if we except France, are carrying the "big stick" so dear to President Roosevelt's

heart. In other words, they are preparing for war while insincerely prating of peace, and all of them have either recently engaged in wars of aggression against the weak, or are preparing to crush or exploit some of the small peoples of earth.

Mr. Beard's cartoon should prove disquieting to Christians. Like Count Tolstoi's powerful argument against war, it raises the interrogation point before the conscience of the Christian world. Is it not time that those who profess to follow the Prince of Peace should unite and insist that their governments display more consistency and less hypocrisy in the presence of this great issue—that they talk less about favoring peace, and work more for the establishment of an international congress of nations and a compulsory international law which should make resort to the arbitrement of force no more permissible between nations than it is permissible between individuals in a well-ordered state?

INDUSTRIAL PEACE THROUGH ARBITRATION.

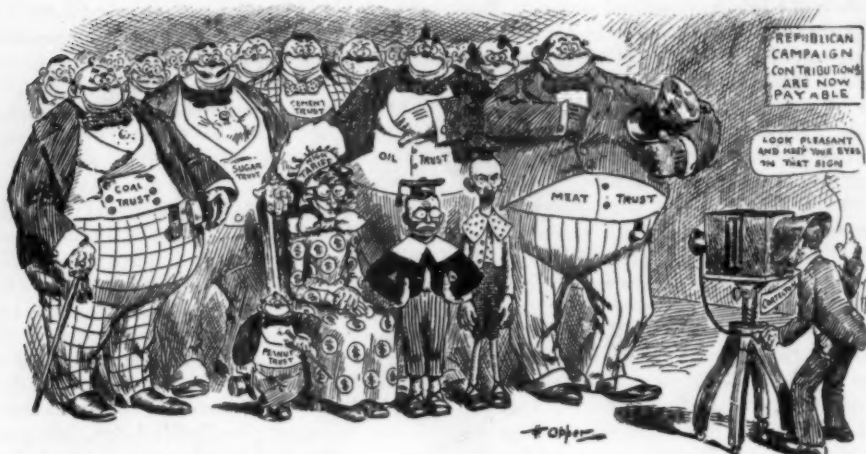
IN THIS issue we publish several cartoons illustrating the evil of one phase of the commercial anarchy that prevails to-day. In almost every instance where there is a strike, the public suffers great inconvenience and financial loss, as well as the employers and the employees. Frequently deeds of violence are perpetrated, and not unfrequently, the State or Federal troops are called out, thus adding materially to the burden of taxation; while above and beyond all this looms the sinister influence of the strike and its immediate effects upon the people at large and their government. The strike is essentially demoralizing and is inimical to democracy, giving excuse on the one hand for reactionary officers to employ the State or Federal troops at the behest of corporations to whom the reactionary officials are beholden for place and power, while on the other it favors deeds of violence and lawlessness that should have no place in a popular government.

In New Zealand, one of the most enlightened and progressive nations on earth, there ex-

ist provisions for Courts of Conciliation or Arbitration, which render strikes impossible; and since the enactment of this wise legislation, New Zealand has enjoyed immunity from the strike and the lock-out. There is no valid or adequate reason why the United States should not promptly enact compulsory arbitration laws that would protect the public at large from the enormous burden in increased prices entailed by the strikes and lock-outs, as well as from the inconvenience and suffering which follow in their wake during such periods as the great coal-strike and the recent meat-strike—legislation which would also render impossible such spectacles of lawlessness, and of official usurpation of unconstitutional power as has been recently witnessed in the state of Colorado.

The time has come when the people should act for their own protection, as well as for the maintenance of law, order, and the principles of free government. New Zealand has shown the way.

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



F. Oppen, in *New York American*.

"THE CANDIDATE AND THE COMMITTEE WERE THEN PHOTOGRAPHED."—*News Dispatch*.

(Reproduced by permission.)



Maybell, in *Brooklyn Eagle*.

INGRATITUDE.

THE G. O. P.—"You're a miserable wretch!"
FARMER—"What's the matter?"
THE G. O. P.—"You have never thanked me for your bountiful crops."

ONE FORM OF IMMIGRATION THAT UNCLE SAM
DOES NOT WELCOME.



Maybell, in *Brooklyn Eagle*.

THE "BLACK HAND" ACROSS THE SEA.



The Packers and the Retailer.



The Retailer and the Restaurant Keeper.



The Restaurant Keeper and the Consumer.

McCutcheon, in Chicago Daily Tribune.

THE POOR CONSUMER ALWAYS GETS THE WORST OF IT.



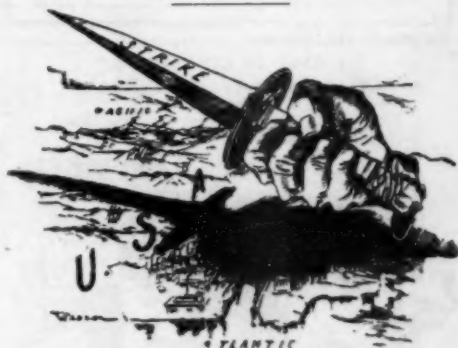
From the Nashville Daily News.

UNCLE SAM—"Gee-mee-mee! That animal is likely to make me a Vegetarian."



Warren, in Boston Herald.

"HELP!"



Warren, in Boston Herald.

"HOW LONG, O LORD, HOW LONG!"

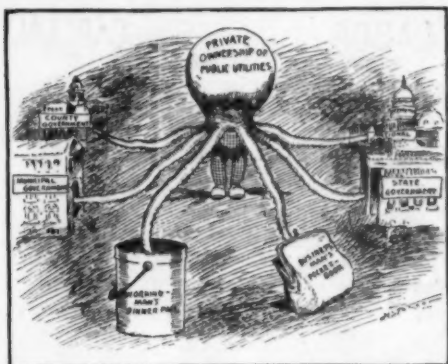


Smith, in Pittsburg Post.

BETWEEN THE MILLSTONES.

WHERE THE PEOPLE COME IN.

SOME REASONS WHY THE PUBLIC SHOULD DEMAND COMPULSORY ARBITRATION LAWS.



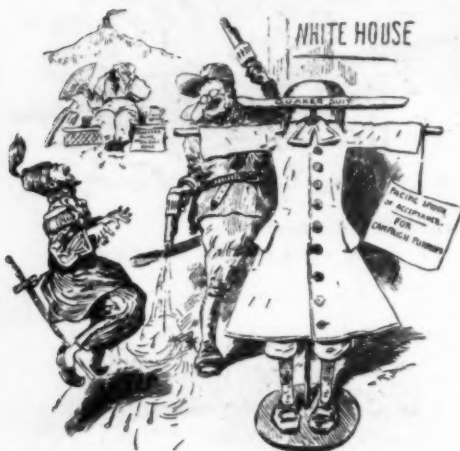
Spencer, in *The Commoner*.

"A HAND IN EVERYTHING."
The Greatest Octopus of Them All.



Warren, in *Boston Herald*.

THE ONLY WAY.



Bush, in *New York World*.

THE REAL THING AGAIN.



Biggers, in *Nashville Banner*.

TWO CHUMMY NEUTRALS.



The Most Influential Delegate at Chicago.
From the *Social Democratic Herald*.

The Most Influential Delegate at St. Louis.

"GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE?"



MR. CLEVELAND SAYS: "IN JUDGE PARKER THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS FOUND ITS MOSES."



WHEREUPON THE EXPEDITION PREPARES TO START OUT IN SEARCH OF THE PROMISED LAND.
Satterfield, in *Nashville Daily News*.

THE FINDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOSES AND THE START FOR THE PROMISED LAND.



Bengough, in *The Public*, Chicago.

THE HEATHEN AND HIS GOD.

Ex-Gov. BLACK (to the Spirit of Christianity)—"Go away back and sit down: You are only a dream of childhood!"



Leipsaiger, in *Detroit News*

"IT NEVER RAINS BUT IT POURS."

THE HUNGRY DONKEY—"I hardly know where to begin!"



Bush, in *New York World*.

THE PRODIGAL'S RETURN.



Davenport, in *New York Evening Mail*.

THE DEMOCRATIC CHOIR.

By special permission of the *New York Evening Mail*.



Norman, in *Boston Post*.

RUSSIA'S HOUR OF SUNSHINE.



Batal, in *L'Asino*, Rome.

"ARE WE NOT FOOLS TO FIGHT EACH OTHER?"

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

AMERICAN POLITICS.

IMPERIALISM, REACTION AND PRIVILEGE *vs.* THE OLD REPUBLICAN ORDER.

A LARGE proportion of our people, we think it is safe to say considerably more than half of the voting population, believe that the republic is confronting conditions of the gravest character—conditions that are inimical to the fundamental ideals and theories of democracy as understood by Franklin, Jefferson, Washington and others of the founders of our nation. These people realize that during recent years there have crept into the seats of the powerful, men who believe in theories of government that are the antipodes of those which must obtain in any country which is in a true sense a republic, and they see these men transforming the government, either boldly or subtly by legislation and the establishment of anti-republican ideals; by imitation of monarchical governments; by autocratic usurpations on the part of executive officers and bureaux, compassing by bureau rulings ends which the law-makers refused to grant, and in other ways destroying the old order and in its place establishing theories of government imperialistic in temper and which are in fact a reaction back to the old ideals of class-government or the domination of privileged interests in public policy,—the idea of the mastership of the masses through might or craft, something not only inimical but necessarily fatal to the genius of free institutions or the spirit of democracy.

Unfortunately those who hold these views, those who are awake to the grave perils that threaten our government, differ widely in regard to the wisest measures that should be taken to avert what all believe to be a deadly danger. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the most radical group of reformers—the socialists—we find that the great mass of those who oppose the imperialism and rulership by privileged interests may be roughly divided into two groups, a large proportion of whom in each group are sincere, earnest and

nobly patriotic. The members of one class see the question in its larger aspects. They behold in the domination of privileged or class-interests at home, and in the imperialistic policy abroad, the same underlying principles that actuated the enemies of our republic in the Revolutionary era; and they would save the republic by promptly adopting such means as would strike at the root of the evil, and by meeting changed conditions with changed methods, all in perfect alignment with the genius and spirit of democracy, would rejuvenate the nation by peaceful and evolutionary methods—methods which would render impossible the ascendancy of class or privileged interests whose domination makes for the impoverishment of the people and the corruption of government.

The members of the other group would stop at temporary or half-way measures. They fail to see that the question of imperialism embraces in its real scope the reactionary ideals that are the life of class-legislation and protected privileges; or self-interest leads them to oppose only so much of the reactionary movement as relates to our imperialistic and unrepublican policy outside of the republic proper. They see clearly that a condition of affairs which renders the publication and circulation of the Declaration of Independence treasonable in any land or isle where floats the flag of the republic, if tolerated will be followed by other acts recreant to the ideals of republican government. They see with alarm that the ruling that made the circulation of the Declaration of Independence a criminal offence has been quickly followed by the denial of the most sacred right of the individual, recognized by all other English-speaking lands—that of trial by jury; and they agree with the *New York World* when it says that if it is good law for the right of jury to be denied to seven million people under our flag, it is clear that our flag has wandered too far from home. Moreover, they see with grave

forebodings the fostering of the military spirit that has so often proved destructive to republics. They see at the head of the government a man who believes in war and in the levying of great burdens of taxes on the wealth-creators for the maintenance of a great standing army,—a man whose ideals in regard to war and militarism accord with the dominant ideas of the most despotic of the Old-World rulers; and they further view with increasing uneasiness the assumption of autocratic power on the part of our chief executive and the toleration of such dangerous usurpations on the part of his bureau-chiefs as have been seen in several instances of late, wherein the Post-Office Department and other bureaux have compassed ends which executive officials desired, but which the legislative body had distinctly refused to grant them. These and similar acts of recreancy to the principles which made the republic in her early years the day-star of hope for all lovers of free institutions and popular rights in class-ruled lands, lead the members of this second group to demand concerted action to meet what they regard as a supreme peril to the republic. They would strike at these things actuated by the idea that this course is of first importance in order to check the overshadowing evil while giving time for educational agitation by strictly peaceful methods; while others among their number are blinded by self-interest and the enjoyment of privileges which place the people at the mercy of the few, as with the coal-trust for example, so that they resolutely refuse to admit that anything further than these changes in the whole imperialistic and autocratic theory of government is required. Those belonging to the first group are as sincere as the broad-visioned ones who see further than their fellows; but of the interested second class the same cannot be said, though doubtless among their number are many who deceive themselves, as do hundreds of thousands of the imperialistic reactionaries who have permitted themselves to become the victims of shallow opportunists who prate of things "better than self-government," and other anti-republican sentiments that one hundred and twenty-five years ago were industriously advocated by the special pleaders for King George's government.

So much for the larger and more commanding view of the immediate present in our political world as seen by the masses of voters, who, though not socialists, are also not imperialists.

THE TWO GREAT PARTIES IN THE PRESENCE OF EXPLOITER AND EXPLOITED.

BUT there is another issue that concerns the food and raiment or the every-day life of the people, but which unfortunately neither of the great parties have dared to bravely, intelligently or honestly take hold of in any way that even remotely promises to effectively right the all-but-universally admitted injustice and wrongs being perpetrated at the present time by the few against the many, and that is the exploiting of the people by the corporations, the trusts and privileged interests for the enrichment of the few at the expense of the millions, and which has for years led to the debauching of government in all its ramifications and to the bribery, direct and indirect, of the people's representatives and other public servants.

Twenty-five years ago many of our foremost statesmen expressed the gravest alarm at the rise and onward march of corporate power and plutocratic influence in our government. Then this evil was in its infancy. To-day it is an overshadowing menace to free institutions. But there is no reasonable ground for hope of real relief from either the republican or democratic parties on this momentous question, as will be seen when the issue is considered at length in the light of certain events and facts that bear upon the question.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIVILEGED INTERESTS.

Two things must be considered in this connection: (1) The controlling influence in the party, apart from the President—the temper, desire and tendency of the organization as represented by the machine and shown in its acts; (2) the present attitude of the trusts, corporations and privileged interests toward the President.

In an editorial descriptive of the Republican convention, written by Mr. Louis F. Post for his ably-edited paper, *The Public*, for July 9th, this well-known, careful and conscientious journalist thus describes the convention that nominated Mr. Roosevelt, his statements being based on personal observation:

"The Republican national convention resembles nothing so much as a mass-meeting under the management of a committee of cor-

poration directors. If the delegations had been distinguished by railroad placards instead of State placards, the picture would have been realistic. The LaFollette men understood the situation. 'If we are beaten in the committee on credentials,' said one of them, 'it will be by the corporations, as we were turned down in the national committee.' Continuing, he said, and every well-informed Republican knows he was hitting the bull's-eye in the center: 'If beaten it will be by the man who during thirty years has been the chief lobbyist of the Northwestern railway. I mean John C. Spooner, Senator from Wisconsin. Why, you can see all of the railroads fighting LaFollette here. If you want to get a line on possible members of the credentials committee where do you have to go? Why, right over there in the corner and pump Alexander Mackenzie, the ambassador from the court of Jim Hill, railroad king.'

"What was true of the national committee and the committee on credentials was true of the convention. A more impudent display of corporation authority and humilifying exhibition of political servility was never seen even in a Republican convention."

In this connection it is well to call to mind the fact that Edward J. Addicks and his contesting delegation from Delaware were promptly recognized at the national convention, while Governor LaFollette and his delegation selected at the regular Republican convention was unceremoniously turned down in favor of the bolting delegation of the railroad corporation faction, headed by Senator Spooner. Mr. Addicks was later made national committeeman. He has thus received the seal of approval from the national Republican convention, of which from first to last President Roosevelt was the master-spirit. The revelation of political corruption and the debauching of an electorate through the instrumentality of Edward J. Addicks, as circumstantially and vividly portrayed by the well-known writer, Mr. George Kennan, as well as described by other American writers and editors, constitutes one of the most appalling, amazing and almost incredible chapters in political immorality in the record of free institutions. So notorious has been this scandal that it is difficult to understand how any self-respecting statesman could even for sordid or personal ends sink so low as to seek the preferment of political bosses of the character of Mr. Addicks

and of the late Pennsylvania boss, Matthew Quay, both of whom seem to have been "staunch and loyal" friends of President Roosevelt.*

Two years ago the trust-magnates and Wall-street gamblers were opposed to Mr. Roosevelt, but there is now reason to believe that he has made his peace with them. Before the assembling of the Republican convention, five of the great railroad and corporation-magnates journeyed to the White House and had long conferences with the President. The last of this number was Mr. George Gould, who stayed with the President, it is stated, from two o'clock in the afternoon until ten at night. The President also is beholden to the railroads as has been no other Chief Executive before him, on account of his accepting for himself and his family far more courtesies than have any of his predecessors.

The recent appointment of Mr. Metcalf, who at the time of his appointment was Vice-President of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad, to a position in the President's Cabinet will naturally be appreciated by the railroad corporations as it will secure them a friend at court, a representative as it were in the President's official family.

A very circumstantial statement recently appeared in a dispatch published in the Boston *Daily Herald* made by J. M. Donald, of the Hanover National Bank of New York, which indicated that the President had given the bankers positive pledges that were all they desired. This, coming from a great personal friend and champion of President Roosevelt, indicates that the President has made his peace with the great banking interests. The ready complacency on the part of the President to the urgent wish or demand of the trust and railway-magnates, that Attorney-General Knox should be promoted to a place in the Senate, further indicates how friendly in fact, is the relation of Mr. Roosevelt and the trust-magnates. The strangeness of the spectacle of the law-defying, law-breaking trusts heaping coals of fire upon the head of Mr. Roosevelt's trust-breaking Attorney-General, of whom we have heard so much, even going to

*Since the Chicago convention, where Mr. Addicks was thus signally honored President Roosevelt has appointed his henchman, Mr. Byrne, to the position of Assistant District-Attorney of New York City, after the United States Senate refused in the face of an overwhelming protest from the self-respecting citizens of Delaware to sanction the former nomination made by the President. There are no greater enemies to a republic, no greater enemies against free institutions, than the political bosses who corrupt the electorate.

the trouble to insist upon the new political boss of Pennsylvania having the Governor, without consulting the legislature, appoint him to the United States Senate, is only exceeded by the alacrity with which President Roosevelt complied with the wishes of the great campaign-contributing trust-magnates when they wished to honor his friend, Mr. Knox, in an irregular way. These things and many others all indicate that there is no real hostility cherished at the present time against President Roosevelt by the trusts, the railway corporations and the privileged interests that are acquiring millions upon millions through unjust exploitation of the people.

Mr. Post in *The Public* expresses the views of many well-informed thinkers as to the real attitude of the trust and railroad corporations. He holds that through Mr. Belmont the privileged interests probably spent a million dollars in capturing the Democratic organization and naming Judge Parker; but he believes that this was done less with a view to electing the Judge than to whipping Mr. Roosevelt into line by frightening him with a Wall-street adversary at the polls. Should the President satisfy the corporations that he will "walk their chalk-line," he holds "they will naturally enough prefer Republican to Democratic success, though they are not likely to get excited over an election in which they stand to win, no matter which candidate is returned."

THE TRUSTS AND JUDGE PARKER.

HAVE the people anything better to expect from Judge Parker than from Mr. Roosevelt? In regard to imperialism as it relates to foreign affairs, to autocratic usurpations of executive officials and departments, in regard to a return to a safe and healthy policy relating to military affairs and foreign relations, we think the people have good grounds to expect incomparably better things from an administration headed by Judge Parker than from one over which Mr. Roosevelt would preside. The New York jurist's decisions speak volumes in his behalf as a conscientious judge who always has rendered decisions with a view to the true meaning of the law and the probable result in future cases. Moreover, the Democratic platform is incomparably more in alignment with the spirit of republican government than is the Republican platform or than have been the acts of

the present administration. But when it comes to the question of relief for the people from trust extortion and exploitation by corporate and privileged interests that have directly and indirectly corrupted our government and fostered conditions that have made possible a reign of graft, we think the people have even less to hope from Judge Parker than from President Roosevelt. He refused to allow the people to know whether he held any convictions on any question until after he had been nominated. This may have been wise from a selfish view-point, for if he had shown them that he was in sympathy with the trusts and corporations that are oppressing the people his friends would never have been able to secure the nomination, no matter how much money they might have spent. If he had spoken in favor of the people he could have had little hope of large campaign-funds from the trust and corporation interests.

But evidences are not wanting which indicate what the people may expect from Judge Parker should he be elected. As we pointed out last month, as far back as September 26, 1902, the *Detroit To-Day*, now the *Detroit Times*, in its New York dispatches pointed out the fact that Mr. Morgan and the Wall-street interests had selected a Democratic candidate, and the dispatches further indicated that Judge Alton Parker had been favorably discussed in this connection. Next we find August Belmont, who it will be remembered was one of the Morgan ring of beneficiaries in the shameful bond-deal during the Cleveland administration, becoming the special personal champion of the Judge. He, with Senator Patrick McCarren and David B. Hill, were the special sponsors for the man afraid to speak lest he jeopardize his chance of nomination. Of Mr. Belmont, who is one of the railroad-magnates of Wall street, a great New York daily which is supporting Judge Parker recently said in the course of an editorial leader:

"This gentleman is the typical Wall-street and racing man. As the agent of the Rothschilds, it was his business to get, for them, from Grover Cleveland, United States bonds as far below their actual value as possible.

"His house and his employers, the Rothschilds, profited very largely through the infamous bond-deal, with the assistance of Grover Cleveland. It is not necessary to tell anybody what the public thinks of this bond-

deal, or what effect it has had upon the Democratic party.

"Democrats will not view with complacency any close relationship between their candidate and a Wall-street gentleman who, however estimable personally, sees in the United States President a possible seller of bonds below value.

"August Belmont is a great figure in the gambling business of racing, as well as in the gambling business of Wall street. He is president of the Jockey Club, and an owner of race-tracks.

"Tens of thousands of mothers and wives in this State are heartbroken every year by the losses of their sons or husbands at the tracks over which Mr. Belmont presides. Mr. Belmont is at the head of the organization which takes a hundred dollars a day each from book-makers, giving them in return permission to plunder the public at the race-course."

Of the second member of this triumvirate that was responsible for Judge Parker's nomination and whom he honors with his confidence, the same journal has this to say:

"Mr. McCarren is another gambling race-track man, but of a lower stripe than Belmont. In the Legislature of New York his role is notoriously that of a trust advocate. He is universally recognized at Albany as the spokesman and agent of the gas-trust, the sugar-trust and any other trust wanting advice and assistance.

"Mr. Lawson, of Boston, a man of large means and of intimate acquaintance with public affairs, has declared publicly that Mr. McCarren is on the secret pay-roll of the Standard Oil monopoly at a salary of \$20,000 a year. Mr. Lawson quotes H. H. Rogers and Rockefeller, the rulers of the Standard Oil, as his authorities for the statement. He has offered to donate \$100,000 to the National Democratic campaign-fund if McCarren will prove that he is not in the pay of the Standard Oil company. These facts are, of course, unknown to Judge Parker. They will unquestionably cause him to drop McCarren from his list of confidential advisers."

Of Ex-Senator Hill it is only necessary to say that he was one of the strongest and most bitter enemies of the income-tax and is far more in sympathy with privileged interests than with the people.

Of the convention which nominated Judge Parker, Mr. Post, writing from the convention hall, said:

"There is only one marked difference between the Republican convention recently held at Chicago, and the Democratic convention now in session here. The great corporations control here as they did there. The politicians for plunder are in the saddle here as they were there. The "band-wagon" element is dominant here as it was there. But there was no protest there, save LaFollette's, and that was promptly suppressed. All was harmony. The whole Republican convention surrendered to its plutocratic masters without so much as a whimper. But here there is a protest, a fight, an effort at least, however ineffective, to prove that not the whole Democratic party is owned by the corporations and bossed by hungry office-seekers. Therein is the only important difference between the two conventions."

Clearly, in view of the facts revealed and the character of the sponsors responsible for the nomination of Judge Parker, the people have little to hope in the way of relief from trust greed and corporation oppression should he be elected President.

We are not unmindful of the fact that the *New York World*, one of Judge Parker's most enthusiastic supporters, regards him as a valiant enemy of the trusts. The *World* cites an ancient ruling of Judge Parker's to substantiate its contention, and on this point says editorially:

"In the case against the bluestone-trust he anticipated by seven years the decision of Judge Thayer in the Northern Securities case, which was subsequently affirmed by the United States Supreme Court.

"In this decision Judge Parker declared emphatically that it made no difference whether the trust aimed at something reasonable or unreasonable. 'The law assumes,' he said, 'that any attempt by a combination of persons who get together to fix prices so that the community are made to pay more than they otherwise would pay is detrimental to trade and to the public interests.'"

But this decision was made years ago. Since then the trust-magnates and corporation-chiefs have become convinced that the Judge is "safe and sane"—something which they do not concede in regard to any statesman who is

incorruptible and loyal in his support of the people against their aggressions. Does any one suppose that these interests would be ready to lavish money on the election of a candidate who was known or suspected to be antagonistic to their selfish interests?

On the other hand the *Wall Street Journal*, a paper which is certainly as good an authority as the *World* on the attitude and temper of the trusts and corporations toward Judge Parker, recently published the following:

"In February, 1903, the *Wall Street Journal* stated that Judge Alton B. Parker would probably be the selection of the 'high finance' for the Democratic nomination in opposition to President Roosevelt. That prediction has been verified. The *Wall Street Journal* now ventures the opinion that Judge Parker will have in the coming campaign the support, partially open but mainly concealed, of the 'interests,' in the hope that he will be successful in defeating Mr. Roosevelt.

"The signs of this are clear and numerous. Judge Parker is supported, of course, by many Democrats in Wall street because he is the Democratic candidate, apart from other considerations. But he is supported, also, by the 'court-circular' type of newspaper which has no politics but the politics of the dollar, and the 'court-circular' press makes no secret of the reasons why it supports him, these reasons being, in the main, that he will not do what President Roosevelt has done and that he may possibly undo some of President Roosevelt's work. The essence of 'court-circular' journalism is in that it seldom acts without a motive and a motive directly connected with the interests of the 'high finance.' Its support of Judge Parker, therefore, is the best indication that could be desired of the attitude of the 'high finance' in the matter Judge Parker, in this campaign, is unquestionably the candidate of the 'interests' as against President Roosevelt.

"It is safe to say that, while Wall street will contribute to the campaign-fund of both political parties this year, the largest share of campaign-money will go to Judge Parker. Very confident assertions are made by local Democratic politicians that there will be any amount of 'Standard Oil' money for Judge Parker."

At the present writing the candidates have not published their letters of acceptance; but

letters of acceptance in recent years, like platform pledges, are far less certain guides than the acts of the candidates and the character and interests of those with whom they consort and upon whose financial aid they depend for success at the polls.

Mr. Bryan will support the ticket because of its anti-imperialistic stand and some other excellencies which he holds to be of great moment; but he has announced that after the election he will take up the battle again for the people against privilege within the party organization. No one who knows Mr. Bryan will doubt his sincerity, but many will doubt his wisdom, holding that so long as there are two contending factions within the Democratic party the Republican party and the rapidly-growing plutocracy will become more and more firmly entrenched; while with two strong parties pledged to plutocratic interests, the real friends of democratic government and the masses who are being exploited could unite and form a third party with fair chance of success.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

ON THE fifth of July the People's party in convention in Springfield, Illinois, adopted a platform demanding the following:

The initiative, referendum, proportional representation, direct vote on all public officials, with right of public re-call.

Governmental postal savings-banks and parcels-post.

Governmental ownership and operation of railways, telegraphs, telephones and other public utilities.

On the money question it held that the issuance of money should be regarded as a purely governmental function; that it should be issued in such quantities as to maintain stability in price, every dollar of which should be legal tender, and none of which should be redeemable in other money.

On the land question it held that "the land, including all natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited."

Of the trusts and monopolies that are not natural monopolies it demands that those special privileges which they now enjoy and which alone enable them to exist should be imme-

diately withdrawn. Corporations, being the creatures of government, should be subjected to such governmental regulation and control as will adequately protect the public. It further demands the taxation of the monopoly privileges while they remain in private hands to the extent of the value of the privileges granted, and that Congress shall enact a general law uniformly regulating the powers and duties of all incorporated companies doing interstate business.

The platform also declares that the right of labor to organize should be protected, and it denounces the abuse of the injunction power.

On this platform the Hon. Thomas E. Watson and Thomas H. Tibbles, of Nebraska, are nominated for President and Vice-President. Both these men are incorruptible, high-minded patriots. Mr. Watson was formerly a member of Congress and later the People's party candidate for Vice-President. He is an author of note. His *Life of Washington* and *History of the French Revolution*, published by the Macmillan Company, have been widely circulated and highly commented on in America and England. But in our judgment his greatest literary work is *The Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson*. In it we see the high order of statesmanship of the author as well as his ability as a thinker and writer. If one will compare his life of Jefferson with Mr. Roosevelt's biographical writings of Americans, we think he will agree with us that the work of the former represents a far higher order of thinking and certainly a far truer conception of popular or democratic government than is conceived by our President.

THE PROHIBITION PARTY.

THERE was a general anticipation that the nomination on the Prohibition party ticket would be tendered to General Nelson A. Miles, but there developed considerable opposition to him from one element in the party, the result being that the General requested that his name should not be placed in nomination; and the Rev. Silas C. Swallow and G. W. Carroll were chosen as the candidates for President and Vice-President on the ticket of the party.

The platform is not so broad and comprehensive as many anticipated it would be, and its demands, beyond the outspoken stand on the liquor question, are too frequently character-

ized by the indefinite and faltering note which speaks of half-hearted interest in a cause, principle or demand. We think the Prohibitionists will probably gain some votes over those cast for their last national ticket, though the vote will of course be insignificant in comparison with what it would have been had General Miles received the nomination.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

THE SOCIALIST party in its national platform, by adopting a working programme to meet immediate demands for the cause of labor and the best interests of all the people, for the protection from reactionary, imperialistic and class-interests of the fundamental principles of democracy, and for the furtherance of the aims of republican government, did the very thing which its most far-seeing enemies ardently hoped and confidently expected it would fail to do. Following the sane and practical programme which was adopted by the Social Democrats of Germany prior to their last victorious campaign, the American Socialists, while emphasizing as strongly as did the German Socialists the fact that their supreme aim was the establishment of the Coöperative Commonwealth through the practical introduction of the economic philosophy of the scientific Socialists, recognized the urgent need for definite action to meet present emergencies; and for this purpose they pledged their candidates to the unequivocal and clearly-defined programme outlined in the following:

"The Socialist party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of

strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage and municipal home-rule, and the re-call of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker."

The adoption of this working programme to meet immediate demands was an exhibition of practical sagacity that we think cannot fail to result in large accessions to the voting strength of the party; for the Americans are among the most conservative people in the world, and among our people the laboring men are the most conservative element. A large proportion of them have heretofore been greatly prejudiced against Socialism, owing to the position taken by leading labor-union leaders as well as by the constant alarmist cries and the pernicious misrepresentations systematically indulged in by the capitalistic press and the clergy. Thus while the trusts and corporations have won politically, through acting as a unit, while they have year by year been entrenching themselves in every department of government as well as in the great daily press, the college, the church and the partisan political machines, they have succeeded through their public-opinion-forming agencies in dividing the labor vote so that it has been a negative quality in our political life. The union laboring men were led to believe that by such actions favorable legislation might be granted as a favor. But the contemptuous treatment recently accorded the labor-leaders' proposed measures by the politicians of Washington; the steady aggressions of the judiciary in the abuse of the injunction power at the behest of corporate wealth; the high-handed acts of the Governor of Colorado and other high officials in overriding the mandates of the electorate; the savage brutality of the soldiery acting under the orders of men who are as unrepugnant and reactionary as the bureaucratic leaders of Russia; and the organization of powerful and aggressive bodies among the capitalistic corporations to completely crush organized labor in

America, have at length aroused hundreds of thousands of laborers to the fact that they have too long slept while their fellows in New Zealand and Australia by united action at the polls have won the control of the government.

A large proportion of these people are not Socialists as yet, but they are heartily in favor of all or most of the above working programme; and since the Republican and Democratic parties have nominated candidates who in the eyes of the trust-magnates and their friends are "safe and sane"—candidates agreeable to the Addicks, Penrose, Platt, Odell, Spooner, Belmont, Cleveland, Gorman, McCarren, Hopkins, and Hill types of politicians, for example, there are hundreds of thousands of voters among the union laborers who have been accustomed to vote the Democratic ticket, who we believe will not support the nominees any more than they will support the Republican candidates who have so repeatedly betrayed their interests to the trusts and the corporations and who have refused to lend a sympathetic ear to the united demands of organized labor in regard to redresses for abuses of the injunction and other admitted evils. A large proportion of these men ardently desire a realization of the measures proposed by the two progressive democratic platforms of the People's party and the Socialist party; and unless we are greatly mistaken, the vote of this class will be cast for one of these tickets.

There is also another numerous and earnest contingent that believes in equality of opportunity for all and special privileges for none; men who are aggressive advocates of the initiative and referendum and who favor popular ownership of public utilities and such radical measures as may be necessary to destroy the extortion and oppression of monopolies and corporations. Some of these people are favorable to Socialism, if it be preceded by the introduction of the initiative, referendum, proportional representation and other safeguards that would insure the preservation of a purely democratic government under the Coöperative Commonwealth; but they would not favor any immediate revolutionary course that would usher in Socialism while present conditions obtained, believing that it would result in a bureaucracy as intolerable as, or perhaps more intolerable than, the present corporation or class-domination. These persons, or a goodly number of them, will also in all probability cast their lot with whichever of these two parties is the stronger in their district, with the

hope that at least some persons on the ticket will be successful, while they will realize that every vote cast for either the People's party or the Socialist ticket will carry its weight in swelling the volume of protest of the electorate against the further spoliation of the people by trusts, corporations and privileged interests. In such an event we shall not be surprised to see several members of the People's party and several Socialists elected members of our next Congress. The people are heartily tired of trust domination. They are heartily tired of an emasculated government at Washington that permits the railroads and the coal-trust to deliberately plunder the people of millions upon millions of dollars every year. They are getting ready to change the present order of subserviency of man to money and the exploitation of the millions for the enormous enrichment of the few; and it is not improbable that the Socialist party may prove the medium through which the aroused masses may register their disapproval, which they cannot otherwise express owing to the fact that the great political parties are in the control of the partisan machines, which in turn are the vassals of corporate wealth.

THE NOMINATION OF MR. FOLK.

ON THE twenty-first of July the Democracy of Missouri, after the most exciting battle in recent years, nominated for Governor the Hon. Joseph W. Folk, a statesman who has proved himself to be as brave as he is incorruptible, as faithful to his trust as he has been relentless in assailing the deadliest evil in American public life to-day. Mr. Folk has proved himself an ideal statesman for a crisis such as confronts his commonwealth at the present time, just as Jefferson was the man of all men to save the infant republic from becoming a class-ruled, reactionary government after the pattern of the European monarchies, and just as Lincoln was of all persons the one statesman for the crisis that lifted him to the highest seat of authority. Mr. Folk has uttered many brave words, but his deeds have in every instance nobly seconded his words. In his address accepting the nomination he uttered these characteristic sentences in speaking of the corruptionists in our public life:

"I have no favors to ask of them and no quarter to give. It is unrelenting warfare to the end. . . .

"The responsibility for the existence of corruption does not rest upon either party, but this Democratic party has assumed the responsibility for stamping it out, and we want all good citizens, of every political belief, to aid us. The battle against boodles has only commenced in Missouri. If I am elected to a larger field of opportunity, I propose to make Missouri the most unhealthy place in all the land for corruptionists to operate in.

"There is work to be done in this State in moral, material and intellectual advancement which you have commissioned me to do. The commission is a sacred one, and I shall observe it as such. Here in your presence, and in the presence of this great multitude, I consecrate myself to the work you have assigned to me, and with your help, and as long as God gives me life and strength to do it, I will combat the things that dishonor and oppress."

THE MISSOURI DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

THE PLATFORM adopted by the Missouri Democracy rings true and is instinct with the spirit of true democracy. It demands "the initiative and referendum, taxation of corporations the same as individuals, and the assessment of franchises; equal rights to both labor and capital; separating the police from politics; the eradication of the granting of railroad-passes to legislators, and the building of good roads."

The overshadowing issue, of course, is bribery and corruption in government, and on this subject, which constitutes the paramount plank in the platform, the party in Missouri says:

"The Democratic party in Missouri not only stands for material and intellectual progress, but for moral advancement, and declares that the paramount issue before the people of Missouri is the eradication of bribery from public life in this State. Other offences violate the law, while bribery aims at the assassination of the Commonwealth itself.

"We hereby declare unrelenting warfare against corruption, and pledge the Democratic party to hit corruption and hit it hard, whether in our own ranks or in the ranks of the opposition party. The decree has gone forth that there is no room in the Democratic party for boodlers. We repudiate their support and do not want their votes.

"The misdemeanor punishment now in

force being entirely inadequate to the enormity of the offence, we advocate a law compelling witnesses to bribery transactions to testify, and relieving them of prosecution by reason of any testimony they may give.

"We favor the passage of laws making null and void all franchises obtained by bribery. We believe the statute of limitations in bribery cases should be made five years."

The nomination of Mr. Folk and the adoption of this splendid platform were followed by an amazing exhibition of the power which the old corrupt ring still exercises throughout the State, in the nomination of two persons to im-

portant positions on the State ticket whose names have been connected with the scandal relating to the very crimes which are made the paramount issue, one of these men having been badly mixed up in the corrupt operations carried on at the State capital. Both these candidates fought Mr. Folk's nomination to the extent of their power. While no one questions the integrity, fearlessness or ability of the gubernatorial candidate, the action of the convention in the nomination of these reactionaries and questionable politicians throws the shadow of doubt over the sincerity of its pledges in the platform and of the genuineness of its professions for reform.

MUNICIPAL PROGRESS.

AN OBJECT-LESSON IN MUNICIPAL LIGHTING.

THE WISDOM and folly of two Tennessee cities furnishes another striking public lesson in municipal ownership. Our readers will remember that Mayor James M. Head in his able paper published in *THE ARENA* for April, showed that the cost to the city of Nashville for lighting the city and its public buildings during last year (its first under municipal ownership) was \$35,162.96; while the cost to the city, had the old-time private contract continued in force and the same amount of light been furnished as was used by the city, would have been \$69,870, or \$34,707.04 more than it now costs the tax-payers. Thus under municipal ownership the city pays very little more than half what it would be paying at the rate the private company charged before the city went into the lighting business. But this great saving to the tax-payers is only half the good story to be credited to the wisdom of the city government. The private company had been charging its consumers eighteen cents per kilowatt; but before the foundations for the city's plants were completed, the private company reduced the price to private consumers to twelve cents per kilowatt, or one-third less than had been charged, and at the present time the company is taking contracts from the citizens for a term of years at five cents per kilowatt. Thus under this arrangement the citizens are obtaining their light at considerably less than one-third what they were paying before the city stood ready to furnish the lights

if the voters desire. So much for an exhibition of municipal sanity.

In the sister city of Chattanooga the citizens have heeded the specious sophistry of privileged interests which amass fortunes through the folly of municipalities which grant privileges and franchises for natural monopolies. Chattanooga has clung to private ownership, and as a result pays \$85 per arc light, while Nashville pays \$50 for the same amount of light. Thus Chattanooga pays \$35 per light more than Nashville for the luxury of private ownership.

The facts revealed in these two cases give us a clue to the reason why the public-service companies can afford to sustain expensive lobbies and otherwise lavish money in securing franchises and preventing the people from obtaining the benefits that they would enjoy under public ownership.

A YEAR'S RECORD IN MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN SIXTY-SIX ENGLISH CITIES.

ACCORDING to Mr. James Carter, an Englishman who each year makes a careful compilation of tables showing the record of municipal ownership in English cities and towns, there are now sixty-six cities and boroughs in England where municipal ownership obtains. Every one, with the solitary exception of Blackburn where there was a small loss, realized profits during the past year which, in addition to

giving the people better service at better prices than they could have hoped to receive under private ownership, amounted in the aggregate to over five million dollars. These profits came largely from public ownership of gas, electric-lighting, water, tramways and municipal markets. As in the coöperative movement so in municipal ownership and operation of public utilities, England is leading the world and demonstrating the fallacy of the specious claims constantly advanced by the special pleaders for public-service companies which are realizing millions of dollars in profits which should go toward reducing taxes or building schools and beautifying and improving the municipalities.

ANOTHER VICTORY FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF STREET-CARS.

ACCORDING to the report rendered by the committee of the Council of Nottingham, England, the municipally-owned and operated street-cars of that city earned a net profit of ten

per cent., amounting to \$65,000, last year, which will be applied to the reduction of the citizens' taxes. A noteworthy fact pointed out by the committee's report indicates the greater precautions taken under public ownership to avoid accidents than is common under private operation. Thus, for example, during the past year the total number of miles traveled by the cars of Nottingham was 2,512,000, much of the distance being through narrow, busy and crowded thoroughfares; yet not one person was killed by being knocked down or collided with.

The company operating the street-car service of Boston, according to its annual report, realizes a net earning of between three and four million dollars. Under municipal ownership a large part of this sum could be applied to the reduction of taxes or to the improving of the city, while the remainder could be used to enable those who travel on the cars to enjoy seats. At the present time during the rush hours at morning and evening a large proportion of the traveling-public is compelled to pay for strap-room in order to earn for the private corporations these enormous dividends.

PEACE AND WAR.

FRANCE SPEAKS FOR PEACE.

WHILE the various so-called Christian nations are preaching peace and industriously engaging in war or preparing to exploit the small peoples of earth, France, under the masterly leadership of her intrepid statesman, Premier Combes, has proved the sincerity of her peace professions as has no other nation. She has reduced her naval programme, she has reduced the period of compulsory army-service, and otherwise has mitigated the rigors of the military service, and she has been wisely and industriously engaged in consummating arbitration treaties and arranging for the settlement of questions which might, if left undisturbed, lead to war in the future. Her action in regard to her armaments and these other matters not only proves that the progressive republic of Loubet and Combes takes the peace profession seriously, but has placed France in the van of progress, making her the great moral leader in a cause second to none in the immediate demand of civilization;

for militarism is the bulwark of despotism and injustice. It is the antipodes of the Golden Rule and the ideal of democracy.

TOLSTOI'S ARRAIGNMENT OF WAR.

OUT OF the midst of a nation wrapped in the gloom of war; from the heart of a land where thousands of wives and mothers are weeping for husbands and sons who will come no more to the home, and where even now want is peering in at the cabin-door, with starvation, vice and despair hard on its heels; out of the darkness of an empire where absolutism falls as night over brain and soul, has come the voice of a mighty prophet bearing a message of life,—a prophet-voice such as throughout all historic ages has been heard in hours of national mental aberration and moral eclipse speaking to the conscience of man. Leo Tolstoi, the moral colossus of Russia, the loftiest example of the Christ-life, and the bravest man in the

land of the Czar, has boldly arraigned his nation and all other lands whose ideals, being materialistic rather than idealistic, have come under the spell of greed for land, wealth and power and the fatal fascination of the Moloch of war.

In his tremendous philippic against the murder of multitudes through the mandates of rulers who resort to the arbitrement of force in national disputes, Tolstoi has shown in a startling way the essential criminality of war and the recreancy of the church in its presence, and the blasphemy of the priesthood which prays Deity to bless deeds of slaughter and the criminality of rulers responsible for the crime of war. His bold arraignment and the manner in which he states great fundamental truths relative to justice for the people, the sanctity of life, and the rights of the masses, have alarmed many conservative upholders of conventional injustice, like the *London Times*, for example, which first published his great protest against the "cruelty, futility and senselessness of war." But the appeal to the conscience of the world cannot fail to increase in a perceptible degree the growing sentiment against the arbitrement of force. In his powerful arraignment against Christians becoming the slayers of their brothers, Count Tolstoi says:

"It is comprehensible that a heathen, a Greek, a Roman, even a medieval Christian, ignorant of the gospel and blindly believing all the prescriptions of the church, might fight, and fighting, pride himself on his military achievements; but how can a believing Christian, or even a skeptic, involuntarily permeated by the Christian ideals of human brotherhood and love which have inspired the works of the philosophers, moralists and artists of our time; how can such take a gun, or stand by a cannon, and aim at a crowd of his fellow-men, desiring to kill as many of them as possible?"

The Count shows how, by the confession of the Russian authorities themselves, they expect at least fifty thousand subjects of the Czar to perish in this war—"fifty thousand unfortunate, defrauded Russian workmen, guilty of nothing and gaining nothing," are to be sacrificed because Russia wished to rob another nation of its lands.

Tolstoi has long since reached that point of moral exaltation where exile or death are matters of indifference to him when he feels that the duty of plain speaking and brave acting are

required. Had he not preached the doctrine of non-resistance and practiced the Golden Rule, he would long ere this have been removed. He has been a thorn in the side of the bureaucracy and the un-Christian State Church. His moral eminence and intellectual prestige, however, are so great, his place in the affection of the good of all lands is so secure, that even the despotism of Russia fears to lay hands on him. The church in its impotent rage honored the great prophet by excommunicating him, but it dared go no further.

Tolstoi, on the other hand, knows no fear. Regarding duty as divine and death or exile as small things in comparison with the august voice of justice, the Count thus characterizes the inconsistent and reactionary head of the Russian government:

"The Russian Czar, the same man who exhorted all the nations in the cause of peace, publicly announces that, notwithstanding all his efforts to maintain the peace so dear to his heart (efforts which express themselves in the seizing of other people's lands and in the strengthening of armies for the defence of those stolen lands), he, owing to the attack of the Japanese, commands that the same shall be done to the Japanese as they had commenced doing to the Russians—i. e., that they should be slaughtered; and in announcing this call to murder he mentions God, asking the divine blessing on the most dreadful crime in the world. . . .

"This unfortunate, entangled young man, recognized as the leader of 130,000,000 of people, continually deceived and compelled to contradict himself, confidently thanks and blesses the troops whom he calls his own for murder in defence of lands which with yet less right he also calls his own."

Of the attitude of the clergy Count Tolstoi says:

"Christian pastors continue to invite men to the greatest of crimes, continue to commit sacrilege, praying God to help the work of war, and, instead of condemning, they justify and praise that pastor who, with the cross in his hands on the very scene of murder, encourages men to the crime."

The words of this rugged moral Hercules, this brave prophet of righteousness, will sink as germinal seed into the minds of many men in

many lands, and later will bear fruit; for nothing in the universe has greater potency than truths relating to moral development. Once uttered they never die, but rather, like the rippling circles created by a fallen pebble in the mirror-like surface of a lake, move with ever-widening sweep until they reach the farthest

banks. The words of life once uttered touch and light the brains and souls of the few, later the many, still later the multitude, until a nation, a race or a civilization comes under the imperial power of the moral truth. Tolstoi in waging his war on war is sounding the marching orders for civilization.

SOCIAL IDEALS AND IDEALISTS.

COÖPERATION IN AMERICA.

THE RECENT National Coöperative Congress held in St. Louis developed the fact that practical coöperation is taking a firm hold upon the American mind. The pioneer or experimental stages in several lines of coöperative endeavor have been successfully passed. Coöperation with us, as in the Old World, has demonstrated its practicability and gained such momentum that it will be carried forward much as it is being advanced in England and elsewhere throughout the Old World. At the St. Louis convention it was shown that the Rochdale stores were steadily growing wherever they had gained a firm foothold. There are to-day several hundred of these stores in the United States. In California the great wholesale Rochdale store has seventy-five retail stores connected with it. In the State of Kansas there are thirty-five Rochdale stores, most of which are doing a large and increasing business. The State of Washington reported eighteen of these stores and others being organized. The Right-Relationship League, a large coöperative-store movement in the Middle States, reported two great wholesale houses, one at Chicago, Illinois, and the other at Toledo, Ohio. They have four hundred and fifty retail stores connected with them.

The coöperative work in fire-insurance is assuming commanding proportions. There are at present 1,717 of these fire-insurance companies in the United States, carrying \$3,122,000,000 in risks. The report presented to the convention affirmed that the coöperative insurance-companies have proved far safer than the old-time companies, the percentage of failures being much less than with the competitive lines; while the annual saving in premiums as against the old competitive fire-insurance companies is over twelve million dollars.

But in the field of coöperative activity the

greatest results are being achieved among the agrarian population. Here are to be found a number of movements which are assuming commanding proportions. The farmers of the republic are among the most conservative of our people, but when once aroused to the importance and the practicability of a proposition or movement, they evince great determination, while they frequently exhibit the same wisdom that marks modern business methods among the corporate interests. From present indications we incline to believe that within a few years the principal products of the farming population in the Middle and Western States will be handled coöperatively, so that the agrarian population that has heretofore been the victim of the speculators and the trusts will realize what has heretofore gone to middlemen and great commercial organizations, such as the elevator-trust and the beef-trust. At the St. Louis Congress Mr. C. B. Hoffman, who has been the master-spirit in one of the coöperative elevator organizations operating principally in Kansas, shows from the report of his company during the past year that it had paid from one-and-a-half to four cents a bushel more than the prevailing price for wheat, and in addition to this the coöperators had realized a net profit of thirty-three per cent. on the entire paid-up capital. The organization marketed two million bushels of wheat, so that placing the saving to the coöperators in increased prices paid for the grain at the minimum price mentioned,—namely, one-and-one-half cents per bushel—the coöperators realized thirty thousand dollars in excess of what they would have received had they been compelled to sell at the prevailing prices, and in addition to this \$30,170 as straight profits, or a total of \$60,170. The capital of the organization is \$90,537; therefore they realized over sixty per cent. last year on their investment.

The success of the various coöperative ex-

periments has given great encouragement to the farmers, who are organizing in many states and perfecting some very extensive coöperative organizations which in all probability will soon practically command the grain-products of the Middle and Western States. In many instances the mutual understanding and business relationship existing between the railroads and the elevator-trust placed the farmers at a great disadvantage for a time; but the agrarian vote in the west is a determining factor when once aroused and united. Hence the railroads have through fear been compelled in many instances to change their tactics and treat the coöperators more fairly than they were disposed to at first.

Not only are great organizations making admirable progress, but many small and isolated groups of farmers have demonstrated that enormous savings can be realized through wise and rational coöperation. One typical example of this character is in operation at Kenyon, Minnesota, where a coöperative company was formed to market grain and handle seeds. It had a cash capital of \$3,500. It to-day owns a fourteen-thousand-dollar elevator and has paid 125 per cent. in dividends on the original investment. Last year it handled about four hundred thousand bushels of grain and seeds. The dividends paid amounted to \$2,420, and the cash in the bank at the end of the business year was \$8,535.47.

Such illustrations demonstrate the practicability of coöperation. For several years a large proportion of the California fruit has been handled through coöperative organizations, and the volume of business thus carried on is so steadily and rapidly increasing that the indications are that in a few years all the fruit-trade of the Pacific coast will be handled by the producers through their coöperative organizations. Present indications point to the fact that we are in the early stages of a great co-operative movement which is destined to work an economic revolution.

THE SOCIALISTS OF JAPAN TO THE SOCIALISTS OF RUSSIA.

THE REMARKABLE greeting sent by the Socialists of Japan which we give below should serve to make those people who ignorantly parrot the phrases coined by the servants of privileged interests and reactionary thought, consider the wisdom of fairly seeking to know the

animating spirit, the creed, the ideals and the aspirations of the great economic school before applying epithets that are as wide of the truth as it would be to term Russia the home of freedom. Incidentally the following message should show the unbiased Christian how much nearer are the Socialists to manifesting the true spirit of the great Nazarene than is conventional churchanity to-day. Here is the address which the Socialists of Japan sent to their brethren in the empire of the Czar:

"Dear Comrades: For many years we have heard of you and thought of you, although up to this time we have not had a chance to shake your hands and hold intercourse with you, as we are separated by thousands of miles. Twenty years have passed since you began to proclaim noble principles of humanity under the Socialists' banner.

"Undaunted by the serious trials of hunger, poverty and transportation to Siberia, you have not become discouraged. Dear comrades, your government and ours have recently plunged into war to carry out their imperialistic tendencies, but for us Socialists there are no boundaries, race, country or nationality. We are comrades, brothers and sisters, and have no reason to fight. Your enemies are not the Japanese people, but our militarism and so-called patriotism.

"Patriotism and militarism are our mutual enemies. We are neither nihilists nor terrorists, but socialists, and fight for peace. We cannot foresee which of the two countries will win, but the result of the war will be the same—general poverty, new and heavy taxes, the undermining of morality, and the extension of militarism. Therefore it is an unimportant question which government wins."

It is the spirit manifested in the above address that terrifies the Emperor of Germany and all the empire-builders and people-crushing despotisms of the world. Establish the ideal of brotherhood, for which Jesus lived and taught and prayed, in the heart of the people, and militarism, despotism, imperialism and intellectual bondage will disappear.

THE PASSING OF RUSSIA'S EVIL GENIUS.

THE TRAGIC taking off of the Russian Minister of the Interior, M. von Plehve, on the twenty-eighth of July, afforded another illustration of the fact that "Russia is a despotism

tempered by assassination." M. von Plehve was the supreme incarnation of reaction in the worst sense of that term. He was the most striking modern type of the morally insane egoist. To gain his personal ends and reach the coveted heights of an all-powerful minister, he trampled underfoot all sentiments of love, gratitude, humanity, right and justice, while treating as a supreme crime the noble aspirations of the people for rightful freedom. Sometime since Mr. N. I. Stone gave in the *Review of Reviews* the following incident which well illustrates the type of man to which this assassin of liberty belonged:

"He was left an orphan at an early age, and was taken into the house of a Polish nobleman, who reared him as his own son, giving him a first-class education. His first act of gratitude, before he had completed his course of studies, was to betray his benefactor to the Russian authorities by volunteering the information that the former sympathized with the Polish insurrectionists. This landed the man who had been to him a second father on the gallows, but gave an excellent start to the public career of the young graduate of the Moscow University."

Since 1884, Mr. Stone well observes that "he has taken part in every measure of importance that has been directed against the few liberties still enjoyed by the privileged classes in Russia as a heritage from the reign of Alexander II."

He had Polish and German blood in his veins, but when he found that in no way could he so please the Russian bureaucracy as by trampling upon the few liberties still enjoyed by the Russian provinces of the Baltic region, he became a veritable angel of destruction, the most merciless and unrelenting statesman in the empire, in his warfare against the freedom of his own peoples. He was the master-spirit in taking from Finland her rights, and was accredited as being responsible in a large degree for the Kishineff massacre. His supreme aim was to reduce all the inhabitants of the empire to a condition of absolute and unquestioning servility before the Russian bureaucracy. He was a man of great intellectual power and acuteness, and he prostituted his great powers in the service of despotism. With the possible exception of Pobyedonostseff, M. von Plehve was the most baleful figure in Russian public life. Terrible as was his tak-

ing off, it was in perfect keeping with the life he led; and though assassinations are peculiarly abhorrent to western civilization, it must be remembered that conditions prevail in Russia which render this method the only way of relief for the people from the most galling and merciless despotism. For under M. von Plehve's rule no free discussion, no popular petition, and no reasonable demands for redress of wrongs, if they breathed the democratic spirit, were permitted. To protest in the name of human rights and liberty meant imprisonment, exile or death. Such conditions necessarily produce anarchists and nihilists, and until the Russian bureaucracy awakens to the fact that the people have rights, the world will not be surprised if tyrant after tyrant is assassinated by the more fanatical element that, crazed by a sense of wrongs committed and injustice endured, dedicates itself to the freeing of the people from the oppression of those that are riveting the chains of absolute despotism upon the masses.

THE LATE MAYOR JONES: HIS LIFE AND IDEALS.

ON THE twelfth of July America lost one of her noblest children in the death of Samuel Milton Jones, the Golden-Rule Mayor of Toledo. Few men in the public life of recent decades have reflected the spirit of the great Galilean so faithfully as did this simple, sincere, pure-hearted, high-minded, practical idealist who by his life and his victory proved the falsity of the claims of a civilization steeped in sordid materialism, that the Golden Rule is impractical and impossible as a working law of life under our civilization.

As the head of a beautiful home, as a successful business-man in the world of commercial life, and as a statesman, Mayor Jones was an ideal character. To us his death comes as a personal loss, as he was one of the valued associate editors of *THE ARENA*, and besides contributing to this review his letters to us from time to time always came as visits from a wise and thoughtful friend whose simple, sincere, genuine life and loyalty to high ideals gave weight and value to his suggestions. One of the last letters which we received from him insisted upon the supreme importance at the present time of education—that full-orbed schooling that develops character—that

makes the moral nature the imperial power in the realm of the brain; though he did not minify the urgent political needs, which to him were the direct nomination of the people's servants by petition instead of by partisan machines, the initiative and referendum, popular ownership of public monopolies, and the eight-hour law for labor. So long, he held, as partisan machines dictate nominations will the corporations and privileged interests acting in concert with corrupt party-bosses be the real rulers in municipal, state and national government, with the result that there will be general and progressive political degeneration. In his office as mayor he had ample opportunity to see how public-service corporations debauch the people's servants and place the public at the mercy of a few interested and unscrupulous parties; and he was forced to the conclusion that in public ownership lay the only real relief for the people from the baleful influence of the present system, and that with public ownership one of the greatest sources of political immorality would disappear. He was enough of a clear-visioned statesman to see that only through direct legislation, by the initiative and referendum, could the fundamental principles of democracy be preserved under conditions such as obtain to-day.

Born in poverty, his early years were marked by onerous toil. The bitterness of over-much work amid great poverty failed to develop the wild-beast element in his God-illuminated brain, but rather served to make him the passionate servant of justice and love. By hard toil, inventive genius and the rigid observance of the simple and rational laws of life, he succeeded in business and acquired the position of a master among his business associates. His factory gave employment to many persons, and while the mills and manufactories all around him were placarded with rules, regulations and prohibitions, the walls of his work-shops were adorned with but a single legend—the Golden Rule: and by this rule he lived and died. His men received liberal wages and were given the eight-hour day. Moreover, he was incessantly planning for their recreation and happiness. He was known as "Golden-Rule" Jones, and everyone recognized the appropriateness of the appellation. Later he established an open-air church, its only creed being the Golden Rule; and here the ministers of many faiths, including orthodox and liberal Protestants, Jewish rabbis, Catholic priests, and agnostics,

who believed in the practical application of the Golden Rule addressed the people. In 1897 he was elected Mayor of Toledo, and was reelected in 1899, 1901, and 1903. In 1900 he ran for Governor on a non-partisan ticket, polling a very heavy vote.

Whether in the home, the factory, or in public life, Mayor Jones was uniformly straightforward, honest, conscientious, brave, sincere, tender, just, and true to the ideals of the Golden Rule. He was a practical idealist and demonstrated the supreme fact that only through a noble idealism that places ethics above sordid considerations or short-sighted selfishness can the individual, nation or civilization win lasting victories.

WORDS OF WISDOM FROM NEW ZEALAND'S SECRETARY OF LABOR.

IN A personal communication which we have just received from the Honorable Edward Tregear, Secretary of Labor of the Commonwealth of New Zealand, are found the following interesting facts relating to the growing popularity of New Zealand's social and democratic innovations throughout the commonwealth, and also some words of wisdom which the working men of America should take to heart. While our nation is suffering on every hand from strikes, while the consumer is at the mercy of trusts and capitalistic organizations on the one hand and of the labor-unions on the other, and while through this internecine war the people are compelled to pay millions of dollars in increased prices, New Zealand enjoys peace and social concord through the wise operation of her national arbitration and conciliation legislation. In speaking of the attacks against New Zealand appearing in certain American journals and inspired by greedy corporations and monopolies enjoying special privileges through which they are able to exploit our people, Secretary Tregear says:

"As to the abuse of New Zealand by those interested in keeping things as they are, I can only answer somewhat as Paul answered when Festus accused him of being mad: 'Would to God ye were even as I am, yet without sin.' Our debts—so-called—are really profitable investments and good business: we walk upright under our financial burden as easily as a strong man wears his great-coat, not noticing the weight but approving the protection it

affords. I read American papers almost with a shiver of horror at the violence and oppression portrayed, but that shiver passes into intense sympathy with these poor wasteful brothers of mine who blindly consider that there is reason in facing the militia's gatling-guns instead of in capturing the ballot-box.

"How completely the Government of New Zealand has proved itself 'a government for the people' is proven by the hold it has gained on its opponents. There is never at an election in this commonwealth any threat or promise made by a candidate in the direction of

repealing 'progressive legislation.' Those who were its bitter opponents are now in many cases its warmest supporters, and the late illness of the Premier, Mr. Seddon, caused as grave anxiety among the opposition and its followers as among those who, like myself, fight at his right hand. The Government makes mistakes in administration: it sometimes rewards the wrong people, and puts its trust in self-seekers—but always its ideals are high; its hatred of evil intense, and after all, these are the tests of worthiness, especially if the power of hitting hard is added."

IN THE RELIGIOUS WORLD.

THE INTERNATIONAL SALVATION-ARMY CONGRESS.

THE RECENTLY-HELD International Congress of the Salvation Army, which convened in London and at which there were between six and seven thousand official representatives of the Army present from foreign lands, amazed the London public, giving an exhibition of the growth, power, earnestness and living faith of this remarkable organization well calculated to stir the dry-bones of conventional Christianity, which has long largely if not chiefly concerned itself with droning the liturgy or indulging in meaningless platitudes and doctrinal dissertations, while the slums of the great cities were yearly increasing their borders; while the army of the poor remained uncared for and the out-of-works were constantly pressed down toward the lower depths of the social cellar; while children of tender years were being seized by the Moloch of toil, which stunts the brain, crushes out the joy of youth and blunts the moral perceptions; and while the volume of crime and dissipation were steadily growing.

The Salvation Army more than any religious body in Christendom has addressed its attention to the most unfortunate products of our Christian civilization, and as a result it has taken a marvelous hold on the imagination and the affection of society's exiles. In speaking of the Army's work General Booth pointed out the astounding fact that their organization

holds one and one-half million meetings every year, in thirty languages; and he added:

"That this should be possible without the slightest suggestion of assistance from any ecclesiastical source should surely awaken this city and country at least to a realization of what is lost by the theories which have practically silenced and subdued into dull, subscribing helplessness almost the entire laity of the whole Christian world."

The Sunday attendance during the Congress was over one hundred thousand, and tens of thousands of people were turned away from the different halls and theaters where the meetings were held. The Salvation Army is exercising a great and far-reaching influence in touching, brightening and uplifting a mighty multitude who are in the depths, environed by conditions that make for despair. The organization is inspired by a living faith not unlike that which marked the early years of the Christian church, when it exerted an irresistible influence over the mind of Jew, Greek and Roman, and which marks all religions instinct with the over-mastering faith and moral exaltation which ever mark the early period of their history. And however much one may dissent from the religious tenets and disagree with some of the methods which the Army holds and practices, the good which it unquestionably accomplishes entitles it to the sympathy and encouragement of every right-minded citizen.

SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE.

THE WARFARE OF SCIENCE AGAINST A
MISSIONARY OF DEATH.

THE TOWN of Brookline, Massachusetts, was one of the first, if not the pioneer American municipality to institute extensive and successful experiments with petroleum for the destruction of the mosquito. After the demonstration of the fact that the yellow, typhoid and malarial fevers were largely spread through the instrumentality of certain kinds of mosquitos, the town of Brookline, with a view to abating the malarial disorders present among its population, commissioned Dr. H. Lincoln Chase, one of its foremost physicians, to conduct experiments with petroleum. This was done with most marked and satisfying results. In regard to malarial fever alone it was noted that the season before the experiments there were upward of fifty cases reported while during the season following the introduction of the petroleum treatment there were but twelve cases reported.

Since these demonstrations other experiments have been carried on at various points with more or less gratifying results, perhaps the most markedly successful of which have been those conducted under the personal direction of Professor C. W. Woodworth, of the College of Agriculture of California, at San Rafael, an aristocratic suburb of San Francisco, in the vicinity of which there are extensive marsh-

lands. Last year the mosquitos became an almost intolerable pest to the inhabitants, and the scientist was called upon and commissioned to abate the nuisance. After careful examination Professor Woodworth began in the latter part of last March to spray the propagating pools in the marsh-lands with crude petroleum. Between two and three hundred gallons of oil were used in the operation, which proved so eminently successful that during the month of April scarcely a mosquito was to be found, whereas during the previous year they had made the life of the inhabitants almost intolerable. Professor Woodworth advances a new and doubtless correct theory as to how the oil destroys the "wrigglers," as he terms the mosquito-life before it changes into the winged pest. He holds that the oil forms a coating over the water, making it impossible for the little life to reach the surface and obtain the air necessary to its existence. After repeated attempts the "wiggler" becomes thoroughly exhausted and sinks to death.

In view of the discoveries which seem to have demonstrated the fact beyond possibility of doubt that yellow, typhoid and malarial fevers, and other diseases such as leprosy, for example, are spread largely by certain varieties of mosquito, all such experiments as the above are of great importance, demonstrating practical methods by which this disease-spreading pest can in many cases be exterminated.

THE RE-FINDING OF THE CHRIST OF THE NEW TESTAMENT :

A STUDY OF DOCTOR McCONNELL'S NEW WORK ON "CHRIST."*

A BOOK STUDY.

I. THREE MASTERLY RELIGIOUS ARGUMENTS.

THREE representative leaders of thought in the orthodox Protestant denominations have during recent years contributed works to the religious literature of the present wherein the scientific discoveries of the past hundred years have been frankly accepted and in the light of which they have discussed the problem of man in his relation to the universe.

Professor Drummond, representing Presbyterian thought; Dr. Isaac K. Funk, a leading clergyman of the Lutheran denomination; and Rev. S. D. McConnell, rector of All Soul's Episcopal Church of New York City, have in *The Ascent of Man*, *The Next Step in Evolution* and *Christ* given us constructive and deeply-thoughtful volumes in alignment for the most part with the newer discoveries of physical science and psychology.

Professor Drummond undertook the task of reconciling the essential message of the gospel and the revelations of science, and he showed that the materialistic school of physical scientists, with eyes riveted on life in its lowest form, had overlooked a fundamental law of being that runs parallel with the struggle for life and that becomes more and more a dominant factor as life rises, and that is the struggle for other lives. He showed that if egoism was dominant in the lower scale of being, altruism became more and more a factor in the higher phases, until it dominated the lives of the most enlightened of humanity's children, and thus that the law of evolution was not inconsistent with the theory of a universe ruled by love.

Dr. Funk, accepting the evolutionary philosophy, boldly but reverently and with due regard for the strict demands of critical modern science, leads his readers far beyond the point at which the physical scientist stopped. He takes them out upon the promontory of psy-

chology, and with the accepted dictum of modern science on the one hand and the evidences of history, the deductions of philosophy, and the universal demand of the brain and soul as expressed in all ages on the other, he throws a flood of light on problems that have perplexed the master-minds of the ages, and does much—very much—to make the fundamental concepts of Christianity appeal to rationalistic minds while tending to broaden the intellectual vision and to foster hospitality of thought in the minds of Christians who hitherto have closed their intellectual eyes to the revelations of physical science and of the new psychology.

In Dr. McConnell's work we have a brave and masterly attempt to rescue Christianity from the paganism that for almost two thousand years has darkened its luminous message and in a real way satisfy the real heart-hunger or yearning of the noblest Christians of our time which has found voice in the oft-repeated cry, "Back to Jesus" and "Back to Primitive Christianity." Dr. McConnell's work, it seems to us, comes into more intimate rapport with the real gospel of Christ, and reaches nearer the very heart of the message of Jesus than any religious book of recent times.

II. WHY DR. McCONNELL REJECTS THE THEORY OF AN ENTIRELY HUMAN CHRIST.

The author of this volume, though totally rejecting the dogma of the vicarious Atonement as being at once pagan, barbarous, immoral, and no part of the original message of Jesus of Nazareth, is a sincere believer in the divinity of Christ. Therefore the ideal of the entirely human Christ as outlined by such master-spirits of modern Unitarian and liberal thought as Dr. James Martineau, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Ernst Renan, fails to impress him as convincing. He opens the discussion on "The Human Christ" by referring to the Biblical declaration that the gospel was "to the Jews a stumbling block; to the Greeks

**Christ*. By Dr. S. D. McConnell, D.D., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 232. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

foolishness." Here we have the effect which the life and message of Jesus produced on the minds of the "conventionally religious" and the skeptical.

"The former class," he tells us, "overcame their stumbling-block, as we shall see, by boldly identifying him with the Sacrifice about which all their religious ideas revolved. The skeptical-minded, on the other hand, have endeavored to rescue Christianity from intellectual foolishness by stripping it of all those elements which cannot be conformed to natural reason and experience. They would denude Christ of every miraculous and supernatural quality with the expectation, or at least with the very earnest hope, that there will remain the Ideal man, the personage which will still compel homage and be a fair object for the soul's adoration."

Among the multitude of sane and earnest-minded men who utterly reject the Christ of popular theology he finds two classes: the agnostic, of which Herbert Spencer is taken as a typical representative, and the broadly religious and highly intellectual Unitarian scholars, such as Dr. James Martineau, for example, who "would interpret Christ entirely within the terms of humanity. Can this be done? And is the result worth the pains? I would not speak slightly or even without reverence of those who, within the last century, have tried to fit the man Jesus to the needs of the human soul. Their motive has been, in the main, high and noble. Much occasion has been given them. The reaction from a dreamy and artificial theology in Germany, the burden of a savage orthodoxy in America, the tradition of free thought in Great Britain, and the prevalence of the scientific spirit everywhere,—these and other influences have conspired to produce this purely human interpretation of Christ. The wonder is, not that it should have been elaborated, but that it should have impressed the world so little. When one considers the genius, zeal, and devotion of Unitarians, Ethical Culture apostles, Naturalistic biographers of Jesus, of an Emerson, Renan, and Martineau, and when one contemplates the simplicity and fair graciousness of the Christ they portray, the wonder is at their failure to awake any deep or widespread interest in it. The only explanation can be that there is something fundamentally faulty in the figure which they present. Let the explanation be what it may, the Christ held up by them is a figure so wan and pallid, so feeble and evasive,

that the world looks at it unmoved. . . . And this in the face of the fact that its adherents have been and are among the world's most devoted as well as wisest benefactors. It is a gospel which has no evangelistic potency. To account for this by affirming that the mass of men are too crass and unintelligent to comprehend it, is to condemn it utterly. A philosophy which is too exalted to be comprehended by any save the chosen few may be all the more respectable on that account. But a religion which cannot touch the common people, or which even presupposes a high intelligence, is self-condemned. Not the least profound of the sayings of Jesus is this: 'Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.'"

Before passing from Dr. McConnell's criticism of the Unitarian Christ, we would suggest that the limited acceptance of the Jesus of the great liberal leaders may arise largely if not chiefly from another and an entirely different reason from that advanced by the author,—a reason that he feels the force of when he comes to explain views that do not coincide with his convictions of the truths of churchanity; and that is the intellectual attitude of the whole Christian world to which the new Christ was presented. Almost the whole of Christendom, from the days of the primitive Church, has been taught to believe in the Christ as Deity, just as the Roman, Greek, and Jewish civilizations, and that of the Babylonians and other peoples before them cherished the dogma of a vicarious atonement. Dr. McConnell is quick to see how easily the pagan concept of the vicarious atonement was accepted by a world accustomed to that idea; but he fails to see that the hesitancy to accept the human Christ by a world that for centuries had looked on Christ as God, probably very largely if not chiefly may be due to the fundamentally different concept presented by the liberal leaders. Is it not probable that the failure on the part of the masses to accept the human Christ may be quite as much due to its being so diametrically opposed to all pre-conceived ideas, to all but universal prejudices, traditions and the vast theological literature of Christendom, as well as to the commanding authority of organic Christianity, as to any other reason?

III. "THE INHUMAN CHRIST."

While the human Christ fails to appeal to our author in a compelling manner, the inhu-

man Christ of conventional orthodox theology repels him in a positive way. It is abhorrent to his reason and sense of justice, and however natural it may have seemed to man at a certain stage of advance, is, he believes, as diametrically opposed to the belief, the teachings and the gospel of Jesus as it is unworthy of civilization at the present day. After discussing the various ways in which different classes viewed Christ when He hung on the Roman cross, Dr. McConnell thus advances to a consideration of what he holds to be the paganized dogma that came to take the place of the gospel as first proclaimed:

"For many centuries myriads of Christian eyes have converged upon the same scene, and in have discerned in it, or believe they have seen it, a thing which was not visible to the lookers-on. To their eyes the Cross has been transformed into an Altar; the Man has been transmuted into a lamb; the crucified Galilean has become a Great High Priest; the soldier with stained spear has become an unsuspecting Levite; the gushing blood has become etherealized into smoke ascending to the gratified nostrils of an angry God; the turbid crowd have become, all unconscious, the beneficiaries of a Sacrifice offered under the dome of heaven for all the inhabitants of earth.

"May the event in history be thus construed? Is this the true interpretation of that great world-tragedy? If not, what will explain and account for the strange and ghastly fiction? We cannot disguise the situation. If this interpretation be not true to reality, we must deny one of the most widely-current and generally-accepted notions about Christ present in the Christian world. I say accepted, rather than believed, for when the notion is plainly stated in terms with which the understanding can deal, its intrinsic incoherence and its ethical monstrosity must compel rejection. Nevertheless, it remains as one of those idols of the imagination before which generations have prostrated themselves, and whose grim hideousness is hidden from the devotees by the smoke of their own incense. Of all the religious concepts actually existent within Christendom, this is probably the one most widely diffused. Most Christians would indeed be likely to aver that underlying all their doctrinal and ecclesiastical disagreements they are at one in what they would call the fundamental belief that Christ was a Sacrifice offered to appease the anger of an outraged God, and

that it has been so far efficacious that it has left God with no valid claim against any man who takes the proper steps to interpose this safeguard between God's judgments and himself. It is the burden of the Roman Mass and the Hallelujah lasses' exhortation, of the revivalist's hymns and the cultus of the Sacred Heart. It is the gloomy theme of medieval art, hangs darkly about the stained glass of cathedral-windows, is enshrined in a myriad pyxes, and is what the wayfaring man takes to be the central article of the Christian creed at present. It holds conspicuous place in the accredited formularies of the largest Christian churches. The Greek church says: 'He has done and suffered in our stead all that was necessary for the remission of our sins.'—Macaire, *Orthodox Theology*, ch. 88, sec. 153.

"The Roman Church says: 'It was a sacrifice most acceptable unto God, offered by his Son on the altar of the cross, which entirely appeased the wrath and indignation of the Father.'—*Catechism*, Coun. Trent, XV.

"The Westminster Confession of Faith says: 'The Lord Jesus by his perfect obedience and sacrifice of himself hath fully satisfied the justice of his Father, and hath purchased reconciliation and entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven for all whom his Father hath given him.'

"The two conceptions upon which the dogma rests are, appeasement of an angry God by pain, and substitution of a victim in the room and stead of an offender."

Our author next points out a tendency at the present time on the part of theologians to "retain the terms of the doctrine while throwing overboard its contents," because society has come to recognize that "both its ethical conception of God and its moral estimate of man are unworthy." Against this attempt at intellectual jugglery Dr. McConnell protests, insisting in further elucidating the subject that:

"If it be not true, it ought to be cast out as an intruder within the holy place. Propitiation of God by sacrifice and the transference of righteousness from the innocent to the guilty are of the very essence of it. But these are both survivals from an ancient paganism. To outroot them was the purpose of Judaism and Christianity. In this Judaism failed, and perished through being itself slowly transformed into an idolatry. Christianity has been saved from a like failure only because it

has within it the living Christ. But the time must come, and ought not to be far distant, when his work among men will be interpreted in terms and images freed from the taint of out-grown savagery, terms which will not offend the moral sense of a world which has been led to leave such ethical *betises* far behind.

"Propitiatory sacrifice belongs at a stage of development through which all people pass. At that stage God and the devil for them are one. They suspect themselves to be in the presence of unseen powers which are able to help or hurt. Their gods are even such as they themselves are. If they are unwilling, they can be bribed; if they are angry, they can be appeased by presents. The African savage offers his demon a goat, the South Sea Islander placates his god with a plantain, the Phœnician mother burns her child to please Moloch, the Mexican priest tears the heart from a comely youth and holds it dripping toward the heavens. The motive is everywhere the same. It is to avert the anger or to bribe the good offices of a god. At a somewhat later stage the 'scapegoat' idea enters. Every year at the Thurgelia the Athenians dragged a man and a woman to the brink of the Acropolis and hurled them to death that they might bear away a year's sins from the city of the Violet Crown. The Romans threw their victims from the Tarpeian Rock to the same end. In Babylon a young man was crucified at each summer solstice to bear away the sins of the people.

"It has been a fond device of theology to interpret all these cruel customs as unconscious prophecies of the Great Sacrifice to be made at the right time for the sins of the whole world, as but fragmentary shadows of the Cross flung backward along the dim pathway of human history. Especially has this been claimed for the bloody rites of the people of Israel. This claim is utterly without support. The whole weight of evolutionary science and ordered history is against it. These phenomena are coming to be more and more intelligible, and indeed to have a worth of their own, but this is because they are seen to be the natural and spontaneous expression of religion at a stage of evolution where men are otherwise ignorant and brutal. They bear the same relation to the religion of Christ that the crude moral judgments of savage men do to the morality of Jesus. The attempt to interpret him in terms of primitive cult is to shut up the sun of righteousness in troglodytic caves.

"Nor ought we to be any longer misled by

the theory that the institutes of Moses and the Levitical system bear any different relation to Christ. The Sacrificial System was no institute of Moses, either with or without divine sanction. What that great religious master did in the region of worship was the counterpart of what he effected in the sphere of Law. When, for example, he fixed the law of retaliation at 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' he was not establishing a code of vengeance. On the contrary, he was confining within the narrowest bounds possible a custom of vengeance universally prevalent. . . . So with Sacrifice. It was an ethnic custom, universal, extravagant, prodigal, cruel. The backward people whom Moses led knew no other mode in which to express their piety. What he did was to limit the custom within the narrowest bounds possible at the time and place. He did not pronounce it good, nor did he contemplate its perpetuity. His successors among the prophets strove continuously to give the every-day devotion of the people a higher and more reasonable direction."

In speaking of the effort of the prophets to counteract the sacerdotalism of Israel, our author continues:

"The history of Israel is as simple as it is melancholy. The Prophets and the Hierarchy strove together throughout its whole course. Finally the voice of the prophet ceased and the priests remained in possession. Five centuries before Christ that System which was not of Moses but elaborated in pagan Babylon, was set up in all its gorgeous barbarity, and from that time on the moral declension of the Hebrews was steady and inexorable. Religion was for them the placation of a god by gifts; holiness was a ceremonial cleanliness with no moral quality. The prophet had cried in vain his 'thus saith the Lord, to what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices to me? I am surfeited with burnt-offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts, and I delight not in the blood of bullocks or of lambs or of he goats. Who hath required this at your hands when ye come to tread my courts?' It was a religion of the shambles and the medicine-man, and broke itself to pieces against the Son of Man. His direction was to bury it out of sight in the cemetery of the dead.

"And yet within three centuries of his crucifixion we find this ancient idol enthroned upon the altar of the Christian Church! What will

explain or account for the substitution of this hideous changeling in the holy cradle?"

Did the apostles and early teachers at first believe in or preach the dogma of the Atonement? To this query Dr. McConnell positively replies, They did not. For thirty years, he insists, they had no defined Christology.

"They were immediately concerned with his resurrection and its practical results. As to the Person who had risen, they presented him under a variety of terms, with the general purport that he was a divinely-exalted person, but they did not identify him with God. Six weeks after the Resurrection, Peter, as the delegate of the apostolic band, for the first time preached Christ to the crowd. He introduces him as 'a man approved of God unto you by mighty works and wonders which God did by him,' as 'the Holy One,' 'the Messiah.' A little later, in his next address, he calls him, 'the Righteous One,' 'the Prince of Life,' 'the Servant Jesus whom God anointed,' 'a Prince and Saviour.' Stephen used words of like import. Paul in his great sermon at Athens, spoke only of 'Jesus and the Resurrection.' It is noteworthy that in that same sermon, when he was arguing with the Greeks about the real nature of God, as contrasted with their idols, he makes no mention of Christ at all. At this point they stood for many years."

In the dogma of the Atonement, our author believes, lies the fatal weakness of the church to-day in appealing to the imagination of the world, and especially in appealing to those who are the moral and intellectual leaders of society. They cannot accept this religion that exalts a pagan concept that is revolting to reason, an insult to Deity, and which in its nature is anything but ennobling as the supreme fact in a religious system. The world in the days of the early church had no such difficulty in accepting the doctrine of the Atonement, because it was in keeping with the popular ideals of pagan civilization: and the ethics of the Christians, even after the acceptance of the Atonement as a cardinal dogma, were far in advance of those of most of the barbarian races, such as the Lombards and other northern peoples. Now, however, all this is changed and the writer holds that: "The moral ideals of men have overtaken and passed beyond and above those contained in the doctrinal presentations of Christianity. . . . It is the bald fact that the dogma of the propitiatory sacrifice of

Christ, which has for so long been exhibited as the central truth of Christianity, is now rejected by a society whose moral sense has outgrown it. The whole scheme of which it forms the logical basis is felt to be immoral as well as untrue. The average man of to-day does not believe that human nature is but the moral wreck and debris of an Edenic man. . . . He will not believe that a course of action which would be wrong for a man can be right for God. He believes that justice and equity are the same things for God that they are for man."

It is not strange, then, that the church finds its real hold on the heart of the people weakening at every point. In regard to this our author observes:

"Probably most Christian Ministers will agree that it is growing increasingly difficult for them to gain a hearing for their gospel. They will agree also that those most difficult to win are the good men rather than the bad ones. The late Professor Bruce—whose orthodoxy none will question—has left on record these strange words: 'I am disposed to think that a great and increasing portion of the moral worth of society lies outside the Christian Church, separated from it not by godlessness, but rather by exceptional intense moral earnestness. Many, in fact, have left the church in order to be Christians.'"

The new world in which we live calls for higher concepts than those which obtained in the earlier periods.

"Religious thought no longer moves among governmental ideas and legal fictions. It has become biological. In the processes of the spirit the watchwords are not justification, but development; not salvation, but character; its antitheses are not acquittal and condemnation, but living and perishing. It is known that hereditary evil is a force which works within the life, and not a penal inheritance passed down from an ancestor. It believes that righteousness *is* salvation, and that nothing else is. . . . To a world at this stage 'vicarious' redemption cannot be preached. They will not accept it at any price. If they be still assured that this is really God's method, they will answer, with John Stuart Mill: 'I will call no being good who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellowmen; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go.' The well-meant attempts to find analogies for the doc-

trine in the experiences of life are rejected by the intelligence and the conscience both alike."

Dr. McConnell clearly shows how wide of the mark are all these illustrations. "Every martyr of a holy cause sacrifices himself deliberately, but that does not render innocent the multitude who stone him. The soldier lays down his life on the field to save his country, but this does not lessen the guilt of the enemy who kills him. The mother starves herself that her children may eat bread; the engineer goes down to death with his hand on the reverse-lever, that the passengers may be saved; the merchant pays his friend's debt to save his friend's good name. But none of these sacrifices have anything in common with that interpretation of Christ's death which we denounce. In none of these transactions is there anything like a transference of moral status or an 'imputation' of righteousness."

Again he observes:

"Augustine, Anselm, Calvin, Luther, these are great names. They have laid their hands upon the souls of millions, dead and living. Honestly believing that they were preaching Christ, they have propagated a gloomy paganism, which has gone far to render the cross of Christ of none effect. . . . What the Archbishop Magee calls 'this reversion to the worst ideas of pagan sacrifice, savoring of the heathen temple and reeking of blood,' is woven into the very fabric of Confessions, Articles, and Liturgies. And most depressing of all, it is seriously defended by scientific Theology."

After the discussion of the origin and nature of the doctrine of the Atonement and its influence on human lives, Dr. McConnell passes to a notice of the question, Was it a part of the message of Jesus?

"To begin with, let us ask the plain question, Did Jesus himself conceive of himself as a propitiatory sacrifice, or his work as an expiation? The only answer possible is, Clearly he did not."

It is impossible to follow the masterly arguments here advanced to prove that Christ entertained no such idea as the orthodox church of to-day holds. It is sufficient to say that his reasoning is very strong, clear, and, to us, convincing, as is also his argument that such was not the conception of the apostles when the church was founded. How the belief grew

up, why it was so readily accepted, is also shown with great clearness. This part of the discussion is marked by close reasoning and the fearless, candid spirit that characterizes the honest, sincere seeker after the truth, who is ready to follow where'er she may lead. It is an argument that no Christian should fail to consider and one which we believe will more and more engross the attention of the thoughtful.

IV. JESUS CHRIST.

Dr. McConnell holds that in the resurrection of Christ lay the potency of Jesus' message to the early church. "It was not until after that event that his personality assumed any world-wide significance. . . . It was the news of the resurrection which arrested attention. The belief in it has, in sober verity, wrought the most momentous result within human history. It transformed man's estimate of himself and of God. The fact was the essential content of the Apostles' evangel. Their burden was not atonement, or redemption, or heaven, or hell, but the announcement of the possibility of continued existence for the individual man as a consequence of the event which they heralded. . . . Our first introduction, both in the order of thought and the order of history, is to the Risen Christ. But this having been made, the inquiries spring up,—What is he? and what does he signify? The first converts apparently made little or no effort to estimate his nature. They were content to take the gospel as preached. They believed that if they lived according to the 'Way' announced, they would like him, survive their own deaths. Indeed, it may fairly be said that the working formula of Christianity has always been the same, with the modification that 'eternal happiness' has been substituted for 'eternal living.'"

Of Jesus and his message our author observes:

"Two words dominate all his speech,—'Life' and 'Death.' With these two phenomena, which are really one, he concerned himself entirely. His problem was, What can be done with the individual human existence? Can it be extended beyond the term which we call natural? And if so, how? The eternal absurdity is that men die. The higher the individual rises in the scale of being, the more he revolts from the necessity. It puzzles his

understanding. It stultifies his conscience. . . . This inescapable horror is the unique experience of man. He can disguise it, accept it, jest at it, forget it, damn it, according to his mood, but it is, after all, the determining force in his action. It increases just in proportion as his nature climbs and expands. The brute knows it not. The brute-like man is touched by it little, if at all. But, in measure as the individual consciousness of being deepens and expands and entangles itself with ever-extending relationships, it is the more oppressed by this brutal surd.

"To this primal need of humanity Jesus addresses himself. Whatever he accomplished was accomplished here. His problem and his task were biological. But he takes it up at the point where the human biologist lays it down. Is the individual human life composed of such stuff, or does it contain within it such qualities, or can it be moulded to such potencies that it can break through the barrier called death? This is the question he asked; and the answer is Christianity, and nothing else is.

"He pronounces at the outset that the thing is possible, but difficult. He introduces it under the category of a 'Kingdom.' But the moment that word is pronounced, we have to be on our guard lest we miss its meaning. He uses the term habitually in its biological and not its political sense. In other connections we are familiar with that use. We speak of the Mineral 'Kingdom,' the Vegetable 'Kingdom,' the Animal 'Kingdom.' In no other sense does he use the word for his New Kingdom, the Kingdom of Heaven. It is a scientific Classification. Had naturalists and scientific men instead of metaphysicians and jurists formulated Christian theology, the world would have been spared an incalculable confusion. . . . His gospel is the 'gospel of the Kingdom'; that is, the new order of existence, the 'New Man.' Those who find their way into the New Kingdom live because life is the law of that Kingdom; those who fail or neglect to do so much are left where they belong, under the old brutal necessity of perishing. He points out what the condition of entrance into the New Kingdom is. It is by transformation—transmutation rather—of the life which the individual shares with the form next below. 'Except ye be born again ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.' . . . Ignorance is suicide. It is a threadbare dictum of the great Synthetic Philosopher that

'life is conditioned upon adaptation to environment.' Eternal life is conditioned upon the discovery of the environing God. This is the open secret of Christ. Eternal life is a stage of evolution, difficult but possible."

V. CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY.

In his consideration of Christ, the Christian man and the Christian church, Dr. McConnell's position is in many respects similar to that taken by the eminent Dr. Edwin Hatch in a series of notable lectures given a short time before his death, in the Hibbert Course, at Oxford, England. In these addresses, which dealt with "The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church," Dr. Hatch said:

"It is impossible for any one, whether he be a student of history or no, to fail to notice a difference of both form and content between the Sermon on the Mount and the Nicene Creed. The Sermon on the Mount is the promulgation of a new law of conduct; . . . the theological conceptions which underlie it belong to the ethical rather than the speculative side of theology; metaphysics are wholly absent. The Nicene Creed is a statement partly of historical facts and partly of dogmatic inferences; the metaphysical terms which it contains would probably have been unintelligible to the first disciples; ethics have no place in it. The one belongs to the world of Syrian peasants, the other to a world of Greek philosophers."

And again he observes:

"In investigating this problem, the first point that is obvious to an inquirer is, that the change in the center of gravity from conduct to belief is coincident with the transference of Christianity from a Semitic to a Greek soil. . . . The religion which our Lord preached was rooted in Judaism. . . . The Greek Christianity of the fourth century was rooted in Hellenism."

Dr. McConnell also finds the religion of Jesus to be a religion of life. He points out that:

"The foundation-stones of Christianity are these two,—'God is Love'; and, 'Ye are the sons of God.' The small extent to which they are believed to be true is amazing. Judging

from the every-day speech of men, the very opposite belief prevails. God is conceived of as essentially Power; and man a rather contemptible but vain being, in whose fortunes God is not necessarily concerned in any other way than he is with the rest of his creation. Christ's God is his own father, and the father of all his human brethren. . . . 'Love finds a way'; and love takes no account of cost. Christ looks upon men not as manikins created by a divine fiat, but as the fruit of God's loins. Their Father's love for them is inescapable by himself. His own content and his own completeness are bound with them. His fatherhood is not one of majesty but of real parentage. . . . Pain is the eternal concomitant of loving. Whosoever loves places himself within the power of the object of his affection. His happiness is no longer in his own keeping. If the loved one suffer, he suffers; if the love be unrequited, it becomes a torment. Moreover, love is the inevitable product of relationships. In its purest possible form it is the affection of a parent for a child. The higher the nature of the parent, the more inextinguishable the love. Among beasts parental affection is of brief duration, and vanishes away. Among men it lasts long, but is not inextinguishable. If the parent be absolutely good, as God, the love will be deathless. No waywardness of the child, no deformity, no folly, and no crime can beat it off."

The Christian must be born into the kingdom of Love; become in deed and in fact the child of Love, the true altruist.

"If one shall say, then, 'Is this all? Is Christianity simply to do good to one's fellows?' The answer is, Yes; this is all it is. 'For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Verily I say unto you that inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me.'"

"It is commonly assumed that the disturbing element in life is that thing which we call Sin. But this is not Christ's view. It is most significant that while he lived he offended the moralist and the conventionally religious by what they thought to be the laxity of his moral judgments. Publicans and sinners were his daily companions. The woman surprised in

the very act of committing the capital offence against social morals was rescued by him from her accusers, and dismissed with only a kindly warning. The leman of Simon the Pharisee received from him no harsher condemnation than 'she sinned much because she also loved much.' On the other hand, Dives, whom he consigned to the torments of hell, had not actively sinned at all. The Scribes and Pharisees, whom he denounced unsparingly, were probably as little liable to accusation as it is possible for men to be.

"His contention from first to last is that the evil in life is not sin, but Selfishness. It would probably be more accurate to say that he reached down to the fundamental truth that all sin at bottom is selfishness. There is really no other sin. All offences are, when analyzed, seen to be but allotropic forms of this one. Lust is but the longing to possess, without regard to the good of the thing possessed. Hate is but the cold determination to rid one's self of the person whose existence disturbs his sense of well-being. Its final expression is murder, for, as Shylock says, 'hateth any man the thing he would not kill?' Theft is selfishness, pure and simple. So of all other 'immoralities' whatsoever, they are but expressions of a personal attitude. Christianity, on the other hand, is Altruism. But it is altruism made dynamic. The amazing thing is that it should be persistently presented as self-seeking, raised to its highest power, and given the sanction of a religious obligation. For what else is the exhortation to the individual to 'seek salvation,' to 'save his soul'? And what other motive impels the monk and recluse to withdraw from the world of affections in the hope of finding his own highest good? Christ's dictum—which is not a paradox—is, 'he that saveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life shall find it.' It is the fundamental law of the Kingdom."

Christ was above all, according to our author, the revealer of divinity. And in what way did he draw aside the veil? In what manner did he usher humanity into the audience chamber of the Infinite? Not by way of the mind; not by the door of conscience. No; but through the portals of the heart; by the glorious highway of Love.

"I have said that we only know so much of God as can be expressed in terms of humanity. But humanity opens through one avenue, and through one avenue only, into the infinite.

The flesh is circumscribed within the boundaries of physical law. The mind has wider scope, but even intellectual action quickly reaches a point beyond which it cannot move. The conscience is let and hindered by the infirmity of the will. But the *power to love* is literally without bounds. So far as one can see, there is no limit to its field of action or to its duration. Unlike all other human faculties it appears to be incapable of fatigue. The more it works the more vigorous it grows. It has no point of breaking strain. It nourishes itself with the juices which itself supplies. It appears to be independent upon physical conditions. Love is stronger than death. It is not conditioned upon intellectual vigor, and is largely, if not altogether, outside the operation of the will. Through this rift in phenomenal being Christ exhibits God.

"For, when all is said, Christianity is an affection. All its institutions, its machinery, its codes and disciplines, are but vehicles to convey the emotion of Love. Its triumphs are all measured finally by the extent to which it has shown this affection. Its failures are all failures of affection. For 'God is Love; and he that loveth is born of God.' . . . Christ's dictum is that God is the eternal principle of Love, self-conscious and intelligent, receiving and returning the affection of all in his universe who have attained unto the 'will to love.' . . . The Sermon on the Mount is the pronouncement of his Kingdom. It is 'Love.' 'Love even your enemies; do good even to them that despitefully use you and persecute you.' His Kingdom has place, therefore, not in the realms of knowledge or morals, but of the affections."

The heart-hunger of the age is for a religion that shall light the soul with the holy flame of deathless love. Not the dead Christ, not the Christ of theology, not the Christ of the schoolman or the theorist; but Christ the revealer and inspirer,—the revealer of Divinity in its supreme manifestation of love in such a way as to transmute egoism into altruism.

"He who listens attentively to the multitudinous voices of our world of to-day will learn that it is well disposed toward a revival of religion. But it must be a religion which will satisfy its real longings. Its mind has been for

two or three generations stimulated to a preternatural activity. It already begins to show the symptoms of that lassitude which surfeit causes. It has also received and assimilated the contents of that great generalization which is expressed by 'the reign of law.' It is no longer in the mood to be moved by a religion of thought or a religion of restraints; but is groping with all its fingers to find a religion of goodwill."

Such in brief is an outline of this remarkable volume which is so pregnant with spiritual illumination, so vibrant with truth, that it should command the earnest attention of all who love humanity and who are laboring for a broader and a truer civilization. But in saying this we do not wish to be understood as accepting all the views advanced. Some of Dr. McConnell's positions seem to us incongruous, and at times we are at a loss to understand how his views square with the teachings of the great Nazarene. These lines, for example, seem strangely incongruous to us as coming from one who has so exalted and luminous a conception of the meek and lowly Nazarene and the Prince of Peace:

"Nor may the Christian put aside the sword when that is the weapon to which love points. The Puritans had a fine phrase for the character which they held in honor, 'He was faithful even unto slaying.'"

The characterization of Count Totstol's renunciation and his living the Christ-life as he is doing, as "a feeble and essentially selfish way," leads us to feel that at times this usually clear-visioned and independent thinker is overmastered by the imperial sway of prejudice and pre-conceived opinion. Yet in spite of our inability to follow the author at all times, this volume impresses us as being more instinct with the spirit of Jesus and his gospel than any work on Christ that has appeared in many decades. It is a message addressed to the heart of the Christian world, or that part of the Christian world which has found itself in the far country of a soulless, dogmatic theology. Starving, it has naught better than husks upon which to feed, while it yearns for the bread of life. It is a message of hope and cheer that should prove a way-shower to thousands who have well-nigh lost their faith in God and man.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Essays of the Day. By Theodore T. Munger. Cloth. Pp. 227. Price, \$1.00 net. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

THIS volume of religious and literary essays is marked by the grace and charm of style that characterize all the writings and sermons of Dr. Munger. The essay on *The Scarlet Letter* is one of the most discriminating and on the whole satisfying criticisms of this remarkable romance of Hawthorne's that has appeared. In it the author displays that intimate sympathy with the thinker about whom he writes that enables him to understand and interpret in a luminous and suggestive manner. Indeed we think that nowhere is Dr. Munger so much the master as when he essays literary criticism.

In his religious essays he impresses us as far less fortunate. The first essay in the book, in which he discusses some immediate questions relating to the church, affords a striking case in point. We commenced its perusal with the keenest anticipations of pleasure and profit. We closed it with feelings of mingled disappointment and regret. The opening paragraphs are marked by a broad, tolerant and discerning spirit. Soon, however, we became aware of that play and interplay of liberal and reactionary thought—that sympathy with liberal ideals along certain lines, and distrust of views and theories which are new and at the same time are outside of the range of sympathetic vision—which impairs the critical value of many works otherwise admirable in all great transition periods. Dr. Munger is quick to see the weakness of religious dogmas and creeds within certain churches, when they lead to opposition to the laws of evolution and the higher criticism; yet apparently he fails to recognize how incomparably more intellect-binding are the tenets of a church that boasts of an infallible earthly head and which arbitrarily and dogmatically prescribes what may and may not be read, discussed and believed in.

In the general discussion there is so much

that is fine, discriminating and in tune with the spirit of progress that the weakness of other parts is all the more apparent. It is a weakness that we think is more frequently found among theologians than among any other class of reasoners. They may be broad-visioned and judicial along certain lines, but shift the point of vision, and all is changed. They suddenly become narrow and reactionary. That which was good before, now, on another plane, awakens distrust and calls forth bursts of intolerant expression; and that which was criticised in the first instance no longer calls for censure when it relates to another body. And this confusion of vision, owing to prejudice and the imperfect understanding of theories about which they are not masters, clouds the intellectual perception. This conflict between the inspiration of progress and the instincts of conservatism, of breadth of thought and love of freedom with reactionary impulses, makes an essayist illogical and an unsafe guide.

In this essay Dr. Munger describes in a most admirable manner the present drift among Protestant churches toward union. There are one hundred and forty-seven religious denominations in America. They are the result largely of taking the Scriptures literally and emphasizing certain passages. All have their texts and authoritative utterances that are to them convincing. Yet these churches and their creeds arose "out of the speculative and not the religious spirit." And now the change is coming over Christendom in which the emphasis is being "transferred from the sphere of speculation, where chiefly the denominations originated, to the sphere of action, to psychology and human society." He finds that "the era of division or separation seems drawing to an end." Still he does not see the wisdom or practicability of outward union. In this connection he makes the following thoughtful observations:

"As God is infinitely complex in form but one in spirit, so religion may wear many forms and bear many names, and yet have one spirit.

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

Complexity is not the enemy of unity; it is rather the cause of it, but the unity is of another kind than form or name. The multiplicity may be excessive, and then the bramble and forest must yield to make room for better and fewer growths. But the world is slowly finding out that the less the State meddles with the Church, and the less churches meddle with one another, the better it is for all concerned. Religion is an ethereal thing, so personal and sacred that every fine soul holds it to be a matter between himself and God.

"No mistake can be greater than to suppose that shutting up religious truths in binding forms—either of creed or church—acts otherwise than as a fetter. . . . There is one thing that man loves more than religion, and that is freedom."

But this tendency to seek union is but one aspect of the religious question. The dying out of the popular interest in the churches is everywhere apparent, the two chief reasons, it is claimed by the church, being the evolutionary philosophy and the higher criticism. And here Dr. Munger places himself squarely on the side of progress, ably defending the evolutionary principles and those of the higher criticism. He shows how the churches, by opposing these things, necessarily lose their hold upon the more thoughtful of the people. In this connection, however, the author seems to wholly overlook the fact that the church has lost her power over the imagination of the masses more through recreancy to the social ideals than in any other way. She has imitated too frequently the Pharisees and Scribes of olden times and has honored those who, while posing as pillars in the church and patrons of education, are destroying widows' homes and waxing fat by means of indirection—by thinly-disguised forms of usury, exaction and unjust spoliation. The fact that the church to-day would not recognize Christ, were he to come in the habit and employing the same words and ethical teachings which fell from his lips of old, seems to have escaped him. The spectacle of the clergy of all Russia preaching war, while Christ preached peace, does not impress many of our religious leaders as anything incongruous; because the church with us is also doing so many things that are diametrically opposed to the teachings and example of the meek and lowly Nazarene, not the least of which is the exalting and honoring of the rich and the powerful, whom she would

spurn as wicked and depraved if their sins were half so grievous as those of these men are known to be and the individuals were at the same time weak, poor and unpopular. Lowell in his poetic parable beginning,

"Said Christ, our Lord, 'I will go and see
How the men, my brethren, believe in me,'"

uncovered the chief cause of the church's loss of hold on the imagination and sympathy of the people. Yet our author seems almost unconscious of the influence of this paramount cause for the decline of the power of the church. True, there are flashes of light—moments when we feel that he is coming bravely to the heart of the question, coming to recognize at least in some degree the recreancy of the church in regard to social righteousness. But our hopes are doomed to disappointment, for there is no definite word along these lines. The nearest approach is found in these excellent observations:

"The creed of life, if we may so term it, will be definite, searching, severe in its penalties and as relentless as they are in life itself, urgent both on the restrictions and the possibilities of life, and never forgetful of those inspirations that always come when the full meaning and import of life are revealed. Its sacrifice will be more real than that of a vicarious oblation, for it will be of self and on the cross of obedience to truth and duty.

"Remote as the cause may seem, this change is largely due to the democratic spirit that pervades the nation. A new conception of society and of human relations has led men to feel that their duties to others are equal if not paramount to those due themselves. This impregnating idea is reinforced in no small degree by the pulpit, so far as it has come under the influence of modern thought and learned the real meaning of the New Testament. But the people have outrun the preacher and the church. Strong spiritual movements lay hold of the masses sooner than upon those who live and think among established theories.

"The industrial classes might be won back if the church should bring itself into profounder sympathy with the eternal laws of justice and humanity and equality that are its foundation. A plainer word and a far different ad-

ministration are needed before Labor returns to the Church."

Dr. Munger's ignorance of or indifference to the fundamental demand of social ethics, which is also the heart of democracy—the demand for equality of opportunities and of rights—leads him to ignore or overlook the most burning question of the hour and, as we have observed, the chief cause of the falling away of the people from the church that has become recreant to the ideal and commands of her Master.

We suspect, however, that the author is wholly out of sympathy with the larger ideals of justice and social rectitude of our time; and herein we can find an explanation for his laudation of the Catholic Church, which certainly should come in for greater censure than the Protestant denominations on the score of failing to approve the evolutionary theory and the demands of the higher criticism. Indeed, we are warranted in these inferences by his statement after quoting some favorable remarks by a professor in the Union Theological Seminary. He observes: "The need which he (the professor) did not name has been met by its position on the labor question." The reactionary position of the author on social questions is evinced in the fact that the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. on labor challenges his admiration, but he has no words of praise for that logical masterpiece of fundamental justice which it called forth—*The Condition of Labor*, by Henry George, which shows so clearly and with such unanswerable logic the confusion in the Pope's mind and the sophistry of his arguments. This laudation of the Catholic Church, coming on the heels of his defence of evolution and the higher criticism from the assaults of the Protestant clergy, shows how the reactionary and conventional social theories of a theologian can lead him to utter such equivocal twaddle as the following:

"It (the Roman Catholic Church) stands for sound ethics, for humanity, for learning, and also for science and progress and modern thought, but in a somewhat hampered sense,—encyclically denied, but practically recognized."

If leaders among our Protestant theologians are going to ignore the fundamental or basic demands of social ethics and seek to make common ground with reactionaries, because they wish to stem the onward tide of democracy

and of social justice, they may win the applause of privileged interests and predatory wealth, but they will only serve to widen the breach between the church and the mighty masses of intelligent American manhood. The confusion of thought and absence of a sense of moral proportion, owing to the presence and active interplay of liberal theological and reactionary social ideals, destroy the value of the thought of a writer.

Space prevents our noticing at length the other essays in this volume, but the excellence of the chapter on *The Scarlet Letter* and the defects of his treatment of present-day problems illustrate at once the strength and weakness of the author.

The Castaway. By Hallie Erminie Rives. Illustrated by Howard Chandler Christy. Cloth. Pp. 443. Price, \$1.00 net. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

IN THIS story the romantic young authoress of *Hearts Courageous* has a theme that must have proved congenial. The life of Lord Byron was filled with love, romance and excitement. It was marked by a florescence of genius, but most unfortunately envired. Handsome of face, deformed of limb, intensely sensitive, and lacking in power of restraint and self-mastery, he frequently committed excesses that must ever be a source of sadness and regret to all who admire his splendid verse. Fate was unkind to him on the social side of life. He was weak when it would have been a supreme excellence to be strong. But he was glorious in death. Here we behold noble consecration to the cause of freedom, and the proud and manly exit from the stage of life that resembles a splendid sunset after a day of clouds for the most and not without its storms.

Miss Rives' strong sympathy with Byron leads her to throw an added glamor over a life which was one of the most picturesque and romantic among England's poets. Her picture of Byron, however, if one remembers that it is painted by an artist enamored of her subject and very jealous for the emphasizing of its charms while not so much concerned with the faithful portrayal of its defects, is excellent; and the picture of the life and times in which Byron lived is admirably drawn. The story throbs with life and is invested with much subtle charm. One finds that he comes nearer the flesh-and-blood creation as he peruses its pages than when reading most of the biog-

raphies of Byron. Still there is of course the objection that is rightly urged against all stories that deal with the lives of prominent personages in the guise of romance: here is truth, and there is fiction. They are blended into one, and the reader not familiar with the subject dealt with becomes acquainted with a life which, however attractive and compelling in its influence, is the creation of the romancer's brain rather than that of the personage supposed to be described. And frequently, very frequently, the accessories to the central setting—the other actors, especially those pitted against the author's idol—are ridiculed and misrepresented in a shameful manner. In this respect Miss Rives sins less markedly, we think, than most writers who take historic characters as central figures in their romances.

The volume is handsomely gotten up. Many of the drawings are printed in color and all are excellently executed. It is a work that we think will be widely read, and in view of the fact that Lord Byron has suffered far more than he deserved from the critics in the past, the present work will perhaps make for a juster estimate of one of the sweetest, most eloquent and gifted singers and poets of modern times.

Huldah. By Grace MacGowan Cooke and Alice MacGowan. Cloth. Pp. 316. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a delightful and wholesome story, full of common-sense philosophy expressed in homely speech. It is one of the best books that has yet appeared of a class of stories of the lowly life of our time which have become quite popular of late and of which *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage-Patch* is the best-known example. *Huldah*, however, is in our judgment incomparably superior to the former work when considered from an ethical view-point. The philosophy of Mrs. Wiggs impresses us as often fallacious and not unfrequently pernicious, as it is not calculated to develop a passion for justice and right, which at the present time should receive special emphasis from all earnest and thoughtful writers. Again, it teaches at times, as it seems to us, views unfavorable to the development of reserve force and the highest and finest things in life. We do not need the happy-go-lucky philosophy of easy-going and listless content enlarged upon. What we need is robust manhood and

serious and passionate love for justice and human rights so taught as to become the master-ideals in shaping the plastic life of youth.

Huldah, the dominating character who gives the name to the volume, belongs to a large family of frontier philosophers who without book-learning or the educational advantages common to almost all present-day American children, have arrived to conclusions not unlike those taught by the most enlightened sages and philosophers touching life's problems, duties and responsibilities. She is a true woman, whose heart goes out in tender affection for all earth's unfortunate ones with whom she comes in contact. But especially does she love the children, and so it comes to pass that her little home becomes a veritable orphan asylum. Later she moves into larger quarters, but the only change that the new environment brings is seen in the enlarged sphere of usefulness.

The story, though it deals only with the lowly life, is replete with action and incident which sometimes becomes spirited and exciting. No one can read this story without being drawn to Aunt Huldah Sarvice, whose life is a perpetual benediction; a woman of strong common-sense, but whose views of life are usually in alignment with the higher expression of the finest natures and the dreams of the noblest teachers.

The Penobscot Man. By Fanny Hardy Eckstrom. Cloth. Pp. 326. Price, \$1.25 net. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

THIS volume is composed of ten short stories of the logging-camps of Maine. It is history rather than romance, being tales of striking happenings, often tragic but always full of human interest, and giving impressive views of a phase of our sturdy American life about which little is known save in the forest-regions where logging is the principal industry. The author has invested her stories with the charm that only marks the writings of one gifted with imagination and the poet's love of life and nature. They are gems of their kind; solemn and mournful at times as the somber-murmuring pines and hemlocks of the primeval forest so well known to the actors with whom she deals.

Yet the stories are not all sad. In every instance they impress the reader with their verity. We are not in the presence of the

puppets of a romancer. No carpet-knights or artificial ladies are here found. The characters are all sturdy flesh-and-blood people of our day and generation—people who are entirely human and who, in spite of their narrow and limited horizon, are by no means wanting in strength and nobility of character. The volume is a distinct addition to the romance literature giving faithful pictures of passing phases of American life and cannot fail to delight lovers of good short stories.

The tales are so uniformly good that it is hard to single out any for special praise, but the little one entitled "A Clump of Posies" will linger in the mind as the fragrance of the blossoms of the wild-grape or the odor of the wild crab-apple blooms linger in the memory of those who as boys and girls have wandered through the virgin forest when these peerless perfumes were borne upon the wings of the springtime breeze.

An Evans of Suffolk. By Anna Farquhar. Cloth. Pp. 408. Price, \$1.50. Boston: L. C. Page & Company.

THIS is a striking romance of modern social life in Boston which will hold the interest of most readers to its closing line. It deals with a beautiful and accomplished girl, Harriet Evans, whose father, a criminal and fugitive, is a dark and sinister influence in her life. Harriet possesses the fatal gift of beauty in an eminent degree. She is regal in bearing and fascinating in manner, but is compelled to earn her livelihood and in so far as possible help support her mother. She battles with the world in the savage struggle so well known to tens of thousands of our American girls. In time she becomes worldly and lives a butterfly life, though behind and beneath her frivolity and the cynicism that such an existence breeds is a strong, fine character, which prevents her from committing those fatal mistakes which lead to ruin. She succeeds in securing a position as companion to a lady of means and goes to Paris. Later, when returning to America, she meets Gordon Fuller, the young scion of a rich and exclusive Boston family. He falls madly in love with her, and the two are married. The story deals chiefly with the thrilling episodes of their married life, in which the fear of being recognized by her old admirers, who would reveal her identity as a Boston waitress in the old days to the social set of the

Fullers, haunts her at every turn. Yet the dread of such exposure is less terrible than the fear that something may transpire by which her husband will learn that she is the daughter of a famous criminal. In an unhappy moment her drunken father appears on the scene and greatly adds to the harassment of the wife and to the complications in the plot.

There are many exciting incidents and some that are highly dramatic. The strong, steadfast love of the young husband and its transforming influence on his bride gives moral dignity and worth to the romance and leads the two into the haven of the Heart's desire.

The stress and strain of the story are relieved by a charming comedy element contributed by the vivacious young sister of Gordon Fuller and her red-headed lover, Bucky Stranger. The latter, after many rebuffs, wins the maiden he has come to love with an affection strong enough to make him settle down to a purposeful and successful business career. The story is well written and is on the whole superior to the majority of present-day novels.

The Watchers of the Trails. By Charles G. D. Roberts. Illustrated by Charles Livingstone Bull. Cloth. Pp. 361. Price, \$2.00. Boston: L. C. Page & Company.

ALL LOVERS of nature and the wild creatures of forest and field cannot fail to be delighted with this new volume of nature stories. Mr. Roberts does not belong to that class of authors who endow animals and birds with absolutely human powers of reasoning; neither does he belong to that other but smaller class who seem to regard them as devoid of all reasoning faculty. The author spent much of his early youth on the outskirts of a great forest, where he learned to know and love the denizens of the wood; to understand their habits and mental processes. Animals have personalities differing as widely as do those of human beings, and he who lives much among them will come to recognize these differences of temperament and understand the motives which underlie their various actions. And in these tales, many of which are vouched for as absolutely true in detail, while all are true in essence, Mr. Roberts has endeavored to make clear these motives and mental processes of the "kindred of the wild." With respect to his attempt in this direction Mr. Roberts says:

"The psychological processes of the animals are so simple, so obvious, in comparison with those of man, their actions flow so directly from their springs of impulse, that it is, as a rule, an easy matter to infer the motives which are at any one moment impelling them. In my desire to avoid alike the melodramatic, the visionary and the sentimental, I have studied to keep well within the limits of safe inference. Where I may have seemed to state too confidently the motives underlying the special action of this or that animal, it will usually be found that the action itself is very fully presented; and it will, I think, be further found that the motive which I have here assumed affords the most reasonable, if not the only reasonable, explanation of that action."

The volume contains twenty-two stories, of which perhaps the best are *The Alien of the Wild*, *The Freedom of the Black-Faced Ram*, and *The Kill*. The book is beautifully and profusely illustrated by Charles Livingstone Bull.

Amy C. Rich.

The Twilight of the Gods. By Mowry Saben. Cloth. Pp. 74. Price, \$1.00. New Bedford: The Unity Publishing House.

IN THIS little volume the author takes the legend of the passing of the gods of the ancient Teutonic Valhalla as the text for a plea for wider freedom. The key-note of his thesis is found in the following from his introduction:

"I would fain see life fair, sweet, and wholesome. And I know that the life of Man can never be a blessing, unalloyed with a curse, until men—in the last analysis, all men—are free inwardly and outwardly.

"Unlike some whose cry for liberty is louder than it is deep, I do not expect to see the passing of religion and the higher aspirations of earth as a consequence of freedom. Rather do I look forward with an almost impatient eagerness to that nobler religion and those higher aspirations which are destined to come when we shall have attained unto absolute freedom. Man is not to become something less but something more. . . . Let us, then, be free. Remove all shackles from the mind and body that we may see at last what the ages have dreamed of so long—a Man."

The author holds that the passing of the deities of the old order was due to their imperfections. Errors held the seeds of destruction. Only in proportion as life rises superior to evil can it persist. Growth is the key-note of life, but growth is conditioned on freedom. The present reactionary tendencies makes for slavery, for arrested development, and cast a mighty shadow over the future.

This little work was first delivered as an address in Philadelphia. It is intended to be the opening part of a more pretentious volume entitled *The Gospel of Freedom*. At the present time all works that emphasize the importance of freedom, in which the great subject is thoughtfully discussed, have a special value owing to the fact that we are in the midst of a strongly reactionary and undemocratic period which tends to reestablish the old order which would shackle the mind and place the body, in so far as it relates to the multitude, at such a disadvantage as to amount in many instances to practical serfdom. We need more of that wholesome freedom that gave modern civilization its mighty upward impulse in the revolutionary era inaugurated at Lexington.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

MR. BEARD'S COVER DESIGN: This issue of THE ARENA carries a new symbolical cover design drawn by Mr. DAN. BEARD, of our staff, and representing the Genius of Truth and Enlightenment dispelling the clouds of Ignorance and Superstition. Shakespeare says: "There is no darkness but ignorance"; and in the broadest use of that term as it applies to the thought-world, this is strictly true, for injustice, oppression, and all other evil acts spring from the most appalling phase of ignorance. He is in midnight darkness indeed who imagines that the petty, fleeting advantages or satisfactions he may obtain from a false act can in the end bring aught but Dead-sea fruit of ashes. Only as the soul is illumined by wisdom, only as the Genius of Truth or Enlightenment floods the mind with that "light that never was on sea or land," can the human heart experience pleasures which do not pall, joys which exalt and purify, and delights that also develop all that is finest in man's being. Humanity is one. He who would rise to the heights and live in the love of the ages must open his soul to the truth of all truths, must welcome the Genius of Enlightenment, knowing that in her wake follow happiness and uninterrupted growth.

The Social and Economic Conditions in the Russian Interior: In this issue of THE ARENA Mr. ADALBERT ALBRECHT gives our readers a graphic description and an able analysis of conditions as found in the heart of the empire of the Czar. This paper is of special value as it is the result of a careful personal investigation and a study of conditions as revealed by extensive travels through the interior of Russia. Mr. ALBRECHT has recently completed a commission from a leading German paper which necessitated his traveling to various parts of the Russian Empire and visiting many leading centers of population which are widely separated. He was thus able to personally investigate conditions as well as interview intelligent persons in various stations of life. Hence his conclusions are those of one who has enjoyed such exceptional privileges as have fallen to the

lot of few in recent months who are free to tell the truth. His discussion partakes of the character of expert testimony.

The Reign of Graft and the Remedy: We invite special attention to Congressman BAKER's masterly paper on "The Reign of Graft and the Remedy." The subject is one that deeply concerns every American citizen who cares for the precious heritage of free government, for already the evil is sapping the vitals of our body-politic and disintegrating social and business life. The author's marshaling of facts and the remedies suggested are such as will appeal to the sober judgment of the thoughtful. Mr. BAKER is one of the few morally strenuous statesmen in public life to-day. He is brave and incorruptible. It will be remembered that when elected to Congress from Brooklyn, New York, he offended the railroad-magnates and the editors of papers that are beholden to privileged interests because he refused to be bribed by railroad-passes or courtesies. Editors sneered at his conscientious principles, just as though they were ignorant of the fact that this form of bribery has long been recognized as one of the least expensive and most effective employed in the United States. So great an authority as the late railway-magnate, COLLIS P. HUNTINGTON, in one of his letters to General COLTON, complained bitterly of the power that his rival, TOM SCOTT, was exerting over the legislators by reason of being able to fill the pockets of the people's representatives with passes on the roads running out of Washington. One of the principal reasons why the people can get no legislative relief from the secret rebate and oppressive freight-rates is because of presidents, senators, representatives and judges submitting to that indirect but effective form of bribery known as "courtesies." Congressman BAKER belongs to the old type of republican statesman who regards honor, the rights of the people and the conscientious carrying out of the principles of democratic government as sacred trusts. His paper is an able uncovering of one of the greatest evils of the day.

Professor Maxey on Great Crises in the History of Japan: In this issue we present the opening article in a series of three timely papers by [Professor EDWIN MAXEY of our board of associate editors, on "Great Crises in Japanese History," considered politically and diplomatically rather than from the military or strategic view-point. The discussion this month deals with the opening up of Japan to the Western world. Next month the Chino-Japanese war will be noticed, and it will be followed by a discussion of the present struggle with Russia.

Professor Sheldon's Examination Into the Causes of Disquieting Social and Economic Phenomena: In "The School and Certain Social Conditions and Tendencies of To-day," by Professor WINTHROP D. SHELDON, LL.D., of Girard College, Philadelphia, our readers will find a paper of special interest and value. It touches upon some of the gravest aspects of present-day life in the republic in a serious and thought-compelling manner. Some of these facts are most disquieting, but they are truths that must be recognized before we shall be in a position to intelligently meet and master the evils that have too long been insidiously permeating individual and national life. Few more important discussions of a like character have appeared in recent years than this analytical and comprehensive paper by the Vice-President of Girard College.

Professor Stimson on the Japanese Renaissance: In the papers by Professor MAXEY and ROBERT TYSON the empire of the Mikado is considered historically and politically. These discussions are admirably complemented by Professor JOHN WARD STIMSON, the brilliant and scholarly author of *The Gate Beautiful*, in his interesting and suggestive discussion of the great moral, intellectual and artistic awakening in Japan. Professor STIMSON has long been a great admirer of the Japanese, whom he in common with many other scholars regards as the Greeks of the Orient.

The Window of the Soul: We call the special attention of our readers to the thoughtful paper by Dr. C. C. ABBOTT in this issue of THE ARENA. Among the well-known authors who have achieved fame on account of their works based on close observation of Nature, no living

American is entitled to higher rank as a careful and conscientious authority than Dr. ABBOTT. Unlike most writers of his class, he brings to his research the trained mind accustomed through years of patient research to the modern scientific methods. His observations, though directly opposed to the conclusions of some more superficial authors, are based on personal knowledge which is the fruit of years of investigation and observation. Dr. ABBOTT, after being graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, engaged for many years in scientific work in the Peabody Museum of Cambridge, Mass., and later performed the same service for the University of Pennsylvania, where he also was a lecturer. He is the author of several highly-important scientific works, and among his Nature books, *In Nature's Realm*, *Upland and Meadow*, *Notes of the Night*, *Outings at Odd Times* and others have proved especially successful.

New York as an Art Center: Our frontispiece this month is an excellently-executed portrait of General di CESNOLA, who has done so much to make the Metropolitan Museum one of the greatest art-homes and instructive institutions in the world. The fine pictures of the exterior and interior of the Museum are published through the courtesy of General di CESNOLA. Mr. ELWELL, who prepares this thoughtful paper, is the Curator of the Department of Ancient and Modern Statuary in the Metropolitan Museum. He is also one of the great sculptors of the New World, and our only regret that he is now filling his present position is that it is preventing him from giving us some more masterpieces such as his "Dickens Group," "Egypt Awakening," and "Diana and the Lion." This contribution is the opening paper in our series of discussions dealing with American art, which will be features of THE ARENA during the coming year.

The Drama as an Aid to Advancing Civilization: Believing as we do that the Stage may be made one of the most powerful engines for advancing civilization, we propose to publish from month to month notable papers that cannot fail to prove of special interest to the more thoughtful of our people, both in the dramatic profession as well as in society in general. This series was inaugurated by our symposium which appeared in our July issue on "A National Art Theater for America," in which F.

F. MACKAY, EDWIN MARKHAM and F. EDWIN ELWELL urged the establishment of a great endowed home for the American drama which would ensure the successful presentation of original works of merit, while at the same time tend to raise the popular standard and ideals in regard to dramatic productions and the interpretation of the same. This month we publish the second paper of this series. It is prepared by one of New England's cultured and broad-visioned clergymen who from the inception of the Actor's Church Alliance movement has been prominently identified with that important work. Other papers of equal interest will follow, and during the coming year we also propose to publish several critical papers on the greatest plays and players of the present time. They will deal with the work that will live in literature and with the men and women whose interpretations are such as to place them in the first ranks of living artists. The brief paper on the great actress REJANE in this issue may be considered as an introductory paper to this series.

The Electoral Wisdom of Japan: Many of our readers will be surprised to learn that Proportional Representation obtains in the empire of the Mikado. Mr. TYSON's extremely interesting paper, which is one of our series of contributions appearing monthly on electoral reforms, will be followed next month by an article by the same writer on some of the best-known systems of Proportional Representation, after which he will discuss the practical operation of Proportional Representation throughout the Swiss Republics. Mr. TYSON was for several years editor of the *Proportional Representation Review*, and is without question the ablest authority on this subject in the New World.

The President and the Trusts: In Mr. BENSON's keen and able discussion of "The President, His Attorney-General and the Trusts" we have a clear statement of unquestioned facts advanced with moderation and presented in a manner that must appeal to thoughtful people, especially to the millions of citizens in the United States who, because of Mr. KNOX's tender consideration for the coal-

trust, are paying millions of dollars in extortion for one of life's necessities which is the common gift of the Creator to all His children and which, were it not for the criminal conspiracy of the coal-trust and the railroads, and the complacency of Mr. ROOSEVELT and the Department of Justice, would be accessible to the people at reasonable prices. The shallow sophistry and essential falsity of Mr. ROOT's special pleading at Chicago are admirably exposed in this paper. Mr. BENSON was, until a few weeks ago, the editor of the *Detroit Times* and is one of the most sincere and able among our American journalists who serve the people rather than privileged interests.

The Most Socialistic City of the World: Mr. W. D. P. BLISS, editor of the monumental *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, published by the Funk & Wagnalls Company, and one of the most widely-read and scholarly thinkers among the reformers of our day, contributes a paper of special interest to this issue of THE ARENA on "The Athens of Pericles" which cannot fail to prove a source of instruction and delight to our readers. Mr. BLISS was for many years a prominent clergyman of the Episcopal Church in Boston. During recent years he has given special attention to social and economic problems. He is a Christian Socialist of the school of Canon CHARLES KINGSLEY and FREDERICK D. MAURICE.

In the Footsteps of Will Allen Dromgoole: This month we publish a delightful sketch of the home of our popular contributor, Miss WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE, the peerless short-story writer of Tennessee. Our regular story from the pen of Miss DROMGOOLE reached us too late this month for publication. It will, however, be a feature of our next issue.

The Sign of the Real: This month we present a sweet and wholesome little story written by a gifted author of the Empire State who veils her identity under a *nom de plume*. This story is published in lieu of Miss DROMGOOLE's regular contribution which, as stated, arrived too late for publication.

